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Eighth Round of Chemical Arms Ban Talks Opens

LD081448 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 8 TASS—A regular, eighth, round of the Soviet-U.S. consultations on a ban on chemical weapons began here today. Under the understanding reached during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States in November 1985, the consultations are held to discuss all aspects of the problem of a general and complete ban on chemical weapons, the elimination of the stocks of such weapons, including verification issues.

During this round of consultations the two sides are to consider the main remaining unresolved questions connected with drafting an appropriate multilateral convention within the framework of the conference on disarmament with a view to intensifying efforts towards concluding it as soon as possible.

The Soviet delegation at the consultations is headed by the representative of the USSR at the conference on disarmament, Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, and the U.S. delegation is led by the representative of the USA at the conference on disarmament, Ambassador Max Friedersdorf.

The leader of the Soviet delegation has pointed out in a TASS interview that the present round of the Soviet-U.S. consultations is of great importance in the light of the accord reached at the recent meeting in Moscow between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, to study ideas concerning specific ways to ensure progress and to intensify talks with a view to concluding a convention to this effect.

U.S. Expands Utah Chemical Weapons Test Area

LD081359 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] The American news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS reports that the U.S. Defense Department is expanding its chemical weapons test ground in Utah, adapting it for carrying out particularly dangerous experiments. This Mayak commentary is from Viktor Levin:

[Levin] The Pentagon's test ground, which was created in a desert area in the northwestern part of Utah as far back as 1952, is to be equipped with a modern laboratory for which more than $5 million has been earmarked. ASSOCIATED PRESS quotes the state's governer, Bangerter, as saying that he was told by Pentagon representatives that the new laboratory would probably work on experiments classified under the BL-4 index, that is, experiments associated with the highest level of contamination.

AP's report indicates conclusively that the U.S. military command not only has no intention of winding down its work on creating new combat toxic substances but is even expanding such work. For the moment we will refrain from conjecture over what specifically they intend to test at the Utah test ground. This is undoubtedly an important question, but I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the United States, apparently, has no intention of heeding the voice of reason and coming to an agreement as soon as possible on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. Representatives of many of the states whose delegations are working in the UN Disarmament Committee believe that a draft treaty on banning chemical weapons and eliminating stocks of them is virtually ready. Only a few, by no means the most important, problems remain to be resolved before the treaty can be presented for signing. And it's at this very time that the United States is undertaking a whole series of actions which show that it has not the least intention of ceasing production of chemical weapons. The President has issued instructions for the creation of binary chemical weapons components, production has begun of the Bigeye bombs, which are to be used as a means of delivering that toxic substance, and now it has become known that the Utah test ground is to be expanded.

It has to be said that the U.S. actions in this respect are causing concern even among its closest allies. A pertinent example of this was given during FRG Chancellor Kohl's recent visit to Washington, where he spoke openly about the need for the rapid conclusion of a chemical weapons treaty. But still, it seems, the United States is continuing its course of developing toxic substances. The report by ASSOCIATED PRESS puts one in a sad frame of mind.

Proposals Submitted at Nuclear Weapons Talks

LD090110 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0015 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva, 9 Mar (TASS)—At the meetings which took place at the beginning of this week in the course of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, which are under way here, the Soviet delegation has submitted for examination the combined texts of the drafts of the protocol on inspections and the protocol on the reequipment or elimination in connection with the treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, which is being prepared.

The documents presented by the Soviet side take into account the experience from the preparation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the U.S. proposals on the existing questions. They are compiled in such a way that they make it possible to record already

at this stage the coinciding aspects on the approaches of the sides and to precisely mark further directions of the work for the purpose of full coordination of the protocols.

The submitting of these important proposals in such a variant is dictated by the Soviet side's desire to use the maximum time-saving work methods at the talks, in order to ensure the fulfillment of the task set for the two delegations—to prepare the drafts of the treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the conditions of observing the ABM Treaty for signing at the coming Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow.

Nazarkin Comments on Geneva Talks

LD081746 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An active search for ways to build a more reliable and lasting peace is being conducted in Geneva.

[Begin recording] [V. Dmitriyev, identified by screen caption] The winter session of the disarmament conference, that unique multilateral talks forum, has been working for more than a month now at the Palais des Nations. Forty countries are taking part. The agenda includes, among other things, the issues of banning nuclear tests, averting the arms race in space, and banning chemical weapons. This session has, in fact, covered half of these topics already. Are there any successes? What problems are there?

[Yu.K. Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation, identified by screen caption] Speaking of successes, I would, of course, start with the issue of banning nuclear weapons, on which we have launched talks and are conducting talks at present. There exists a text of the convention. Naturally, there are also some uncoordinated points, formulas, there, but I would say that more has been coordinated than what remains to be done. [end recording]

Palenykh, Nazarkin on Test Ban, Chemical Talks

PM081617 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1,5

[Report for PRAVDA by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Katin: "Geneva Crossroads"]

[Text] In Geneva both multilateral and bilateral Soviet-American talks on a wide range of disarmament problems are in full swing. The talks are taking place simultaneously on a broad front. Sometimes the questions under discussion are so complex that only professionals and experienced specialists can deal with them. But there are themes which are interesting and intelligible to everyone.

The full-scale Soviet-American talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests—the name encapsulates the essence of the talks. What is the position at the talks, have there been any advances? Soviet delegation head I.M. Palenykh answered my question. First of all, the tasks facing the delegation. One can identify three successive stages. The first is the elaboration of improved measures for controlling [kontrol za] nuclear tests. The point is that there are two Soviet-American treaties on this score—1974 and 1976—but so far neither has been ratified. The reason, according to the Americans, is that the protocols to the treaties contain inadequate verification [kontrol] measures. The Soviet Union is willing to improve them, although it regards the measures as entirely appropriate. At the moment the Soviet and U.S. delegations are dealing with this very thing, having three-five conversations a day in order to finish the work by the time the two countries' foreign ministers meet in Washington.

The Soviet approach to the problem is that, having completed this stage with the entry into force of the two treaties, one should move on without delay to the next stage—consideration of further limitations on the yield and number of explosions.

The conduct of a joint experiment involving nuclear explosions at the Semipalatinsk and Nevada test sites, to practice the most effective means of monitoring and find the best combinations of them, is intended to be a significant step in that direction. The experiment is planned for the first half of this year.

Both sides are making energetic preparations for this.

The ultimate aim of the talks is the complete cessation of all nuclear tests. The United States says it goes along with this.

Talking in general about the current period of talks on nuclear tests, considerable progress, as the Soviet delegation notes, has been made, which gives grounds for optimism.

There is a different atmosphere at the disarmament conference, which is attended by 40 countries and has been dragging on for decades.... Soviet delegation leader Yu.K. Nazarkin stated: There is nothing to brag about, because stagnation, one might say, has set in at the conference. Why has this happened?

The main, pivotal question on the agenda is the prohibition of chemical weapons. But an amazing paradox has arisen here: On the one hand, the United States is participating in talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons, and, on the other hand, it is developing the most efficient types as a matter of urgency. Last December production of binary weapons was started, and in

January it was decided to develop a new variety—the Bigeye binary bomb. Apparently, all the work on the prohibition of chemical weapons has effectively come to nothing.

In short, the United States, followed by France, which also intends to create its own binary weapon, has put a brake on progress. Evidently taking its lead from the United States, Britain is not as active as it was either. So, alas, there has been no progress in that area of disarmament. Although talks, of course, are going on.

The task the Soviet delegation has set itself at this conference is to make every effort nevertheless to elaborate by the end of the year a convention banning chemical weapons.

This has been a general outline of the situation in Geneva's Palais des Nations where the great, painstaking, and important work to create a world without wars and weapons is taking place with variable success.

U.S. 'Intends to Deviate' From Agreed ABM Principles
LD090845 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 9 Mar 88

[tExt} Washington March 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev reports:

Colin Powell, national security advisor to the U.S. President, does not rule out a possibility of reaching an agreement on the reduction of U.S. and USSR strategic arsenals by the time a Soviet-Amrican summit meeting is held in Moscow this year.

Speaking in the USIA Worldnet "Dialogue" program, Powell pointed out that during the recent talks in Moscow on the level of foreign ministers "both sides committed themselves to make every effort to see if we could conclude such a treaty in time for signing at the Moscow summit". Powell expressed hope that the sides might be able to conclude it in time for signing, but only if it is a "correct treaty, one that we can get ratified in the United States".

It followed from his further statements that the U.S. Administration believed the treaty to be "correct" if it would not restrict in any way the "star wars" program implemented by the Pentagon. Powell pointed out full commitment of the administration to the continuation of work connected with the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Washington intends to stick to the so-called "broad interpretation" of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty.

Such statements make one believe that the Washington administration intends to deviate from the principles of the non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty that were agreed upon by the Soviet and American leaders. Powell who said that "I am encouraged at the formulation we arrived at at the Washington summit in December" pointed out at the same time that the White House was going to observe the ABM Treaty only "in a way that preserves U.S. commitment to the SDI program".

The national security advisor to the President reaffirmed U.S. intention to go on with the modernization of the nuclear force deployed in Western Europe which does not fall under the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This decision taken by NATO under the U.S. pressure some five years ago is, according to Powell, in the process of being put into life.

NATO Summit, INF Discussed on 'Top Priority'
LD052206 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 5 Mar 88

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Professor Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, you know this Russian saying which goes that when there are so many people sneezing around you cannot say God bless you to each and every one of them, meaning that we should pay no attention to some kind of noise which is being created around us, especially when this noise is of no significance for us. But what happened during the 2-day NATO summit in Brussels, Belgium, was not a case of a group of people sneezing. The leaders of the 16 NATO countries came with a firm or even a ringing declaration stressing the need for allied unity and also for a very credible, as they say, defense posture, as a basis for further negotiations and talks with the Soviet Union on arms control. And also, the summit in Brussels was seen as a signal, beamed to Moscow, that the alliance is going to stand tall and firm on its commitments to upgrade the conventional and nuclear defenses. Now, my first question is why was it so important for the NATO alliance to send any signals to Moscow? To warn us against certain illusions that we might have on that score or what? Professor Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, you mentioned a signal to Moscow, but I would like to turn it around, in the other way. Don't you—do you think that two matters, documents, two papers had two kinds of signals? One kind of signals for their own people, for their own public opinion in the NATO countries, and the other one for Moscow, as you put it and I would like, you know, that's my own feeling, that those papers had two kind of signals, one for their own people and the other one for us. What they, what worries me, if I could use that word, that for their own public opinion they still try to keep alive the image of the enemy, that's my very, that's my...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Soviet enemy...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Soviet enemy, to keep alive, to keep alive—in any case, to try with all the difficulties they're facing now in that not very easy field, but still

they're trying. Now only uninformed public opinion in the Western countries can accept now that, that point, but there is another. About the Soviet threat. At least at the same dimension [as heard], at the same dimension. Because if you study, if you look at the deliberations of the (?matter), what I know from the Western press, at every, almost at every point the new Soviet policy, glasnost, perestroyka, what's happening now in the Soviet Union was mentioned as an example that there are tremendous changes in Europe and a new situation. But some of the Western leaders, some of them, were trying just to convince their colleagues, don't trust what's going on in the Soviet Union, don't trust the Soviet leader, don't trust this and that. So it sounds a little bit, you know, childish. I am sorry to say that. What is the signal for us? And at that point I'm really amazed. Pavel, I am amazed because, because...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Could you be more specific when you say amazed; what do you mean?

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes, yes. When you said a NATO document, NATO slogans, even the wordings, you will be amazed to find out that you've, you've already heard all that. From where you will ask me, Sergey, and you, Pavel.

[?Plekhanov] We (?gonna) sue them for the copyright.

[Kuznetsov] Let me quote a little bit from some of the documents that you've already mentioned. For example, the comprehensive concept of arms control and disarmament, in the view of the NATO Alliance, includes now, number one, a 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union to be achieved during the current Geneva negotiations. Number two, the global elimination of chemical weapons. Number three the establishment of a stable, as it says, and secure level of conventional forces by the elimination of disparities in the whole of Europe. This sounds as very much familiar to us, as, say, for example, the 2-year-old appeal by Mikhail Gorbachev contains the same provisions; or take this Soviet offer to compare military doctrines and accept the doctrine which would rely on reasonable defense sufficiency; or take (?our) urge to get rid of all chemical weapons—is that what you meant by saying we'll sue them for, for the copyright?

[Plekhanov] Yeah, well, of course. There are many things which sound very good and very close to what we have been urging for some time. Of course, the fact that we're talking right after the conference ended, it's too early to tell whether the—whether we understand those words correctly, whether there's not some fine print which will later reveal some, some reefs, you know, underwater rocks, which will frustrate the movement at various talks which are under way. I would like to interpret it as a, say, movement towards some sort of consensus between the Warsaw treaty and the NATO...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I agree with you, Sergey, that's very important point.

[Plekhanov] Because we need that consensus and it's very much in the air. I mean various forces, various countries may move toward it more or less grudgingly. Some are moving almost despite themselves, kicking and screaming, others are riding toward it in shiny cars, if you will, but you know there is something in the air which makes it necessary to find a new basis for security in Europe. And that security can no longer be provided by using the old formulas now: We are enemies, we are about to start a war between ourselves. Margaret Thatcher, according to press reports, said something interesting during that conference. She said to the effect that it was easier for NATO to exist when the Russians were like a big bear. Now that the Russian image has changed, the Soviet image has changed...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] A lot of substance has changed...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Absolutely, it's not just the image thing. A lot of politicians on the NATO side are in a bind there, trying—they're losing some of their old mooring points, if you will. But, I mean, so is everybody else. This is a new situation in the world and we must adjust to it, we must work out a reasonable solution.

[Kuznetsov] Sergey, you've struck a more conciliatory tone than Professor Bogdanov in your answer, but do you agree with your colleague that after a period of some relative calm and silence there is this disturbing sign that perhaps this bogey of the Soviet threat is being revived? If our positions as they were spelled in so many documents and in public statements made by Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of the Soviet Union, and what I've just read from a document signed in Brussels, Belgium, if they're so close together, why adopt such a confrontational attitude? Why come out with a ringing endorsement of something directed allegedly against Moscow?

[Plekhanov] Well, because the Soviet threat, the image of the Soviet threat, the idea of the Soviet threat is what keeps NATO as an alliance. And there they need that...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And they, what they need now very much, to build up a kind of public support for what they're doing. And I'm, I'm sorry, but they could not invent something new, they just take, took up the old wine from old bottle, the Soviet threat, and they're again trying to build up public support from that base, which is to my mind a very, very shaky base, that's my explanation.

[Plekhanov] And by the way, in these NATO documents, aside of those positive things which we have talked about, there is a lot of old garbage which has been in these documents for years. There is the reiteration that only with nuclear weapons that NATO, it is only with

nuclear weapons that NATO can provide for its security, that it can under no conditions go nuclear free. There is an old story that the Russians, the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact, has an overwhelming superiority on conventional armaments. Just a few days ago, Senator Carl Levin has issued a study, a very detailed study, of comparative military potentials...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And I'm sorry, Sergey, Carl Levin is a very knowledgeable man in that. He's doing things on the expert-like level, he knows what he's talking about...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] And his study was based not just on comparing the numbers but on measuring the capabilities—after all, we had more tanks than Hitler in 1941, and yet Hitler was able to march almost all the way up to Moscow within a couple of months and we lost most of our tanks, and we lost most of our aviation, so the numbers do not tell the whole story. What Levin did was compare the real battling type capability of both sides and found that they are roughly equal to each other. Therefore, there is no possibility that each side, either of the sides, can attack the other.

[Kuznetsov] From what I know, in recent statements and not so recent statements dating back perhaps to 2 years ago, most Western leaders accepted that at a time when we're digging deeper and deeper into perestroyka and glasnost, which is the essence of our new policy and the changes that are occurring in our country, the Soviet Union is least of all inclined to squander millions and millions and millions of rubles on weapons. Were there statements to this effect in the West? I think there were.

[Bogdanov] My, you know that's my personal opinion, but I believe that the, the public opinion trends are so much not in favor of new wave of armaments that the leaders, political leaders, have to face all that and they have to deliver some, some acceptable explanation why they do it, insist on two things, on modernization and on bigger appropriations. So I cannot accept their difficulties because you have to operate in a new political environment, but, Pavel, let me be quite frank: That is their business, that is their difficulty and their worry, and I look at those matters, papers, and at all that. Do they contribute to the building of the common security, strengthening of the common security, or not? And my answer would be, say, 60 percent—maybe not, maybe 70 percent positive and 30 percent negative.

[Kuznetsov] You mentioned two signals that were sent from Brussels. One was sent to the West European public and perhaps to the American public, and the other was sent to Moscow. Perhaps there was a third signal sent to Washington, to the Senate, where they're busy ratifying or actually holding those ratification hearings on the INF Treaty. Do you foresee a possibility that those documents adopted at the NATO summit could affect the ratification process by making some senators attach certain strings to the INF Treaty linked with those conventional arms reductions, or something of this kind? Do you foresee such a possibility?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, if you want a professional answer from my side, I would say yes and no. Because I do not know how American senators—and hundreds of them are very different people with very different views, very different backgrounds and very different attitudes towards Europe, mind you—how they will read those papers, and I'm sorry to say, but I still believe that any American senator behaves not according to European interests but according to domestic American interests. That's my difficulty. I don't know how they will correlate their natural interests with American...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Professor Plekhanov, what is your opinion? Will the summit affect the ratification?

[Plekhanov] I think that the way it looks now, the summit would be good for ratification because it endorses President Reagan's policy of achieving arms reduction treaties with the Soviet Union, it specifically endorses the INF Treaty. The session was behind closed doors. We know only the official statements, the official documents. I imagine that there were some things said which we have not heard. Maybe they will have some impact on what the senators will say as they go about discussing the treaty. So that is, that is why I say as of now, and with all the caveats.

[Kuznetsov] Alright, as the time is running out on us, my last question deals with the INF Treaty and the hearings, ratification hearings here in the Soviet Union, and I know that both of you gentlemen, especially you, Professor Bogdanov, are active in that, and you were a guest speaker at the third round of hearings which pitted representatives of the Soviet public against some of the experts, and you even came up with a proposal to use the body of one of those disabled missiles to make pins and badges and some souvenirs and to raise and to use those funds raised from the sale...

[Bogdanov] I'm inviting, I'm sorry, I'm inviting our American colleagues over there to join us, to, maybe, to set up a joint venture. One Pershing, one SS-20...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Great idea...

[Bogdanov, continuing] And let's make a lot of money on that which we will contribute for the noble cause.

[Kuznetsov] OK, so you are in the know and at this point the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people support the INF Treaty, but you also know, you're aware of the fact that there are dissenting voices expressing concerns and suspicions and certain frustrations. My first question is, how sincere are those fears and is this stance, is this posture adopted by the NATO summit going to affect public opinion in this country?

[Bogdanov] To your first question. They are very sincere and I'm sorry to say we were not able to convince them. I mean those sceptics, and that's my personal experience with all my argumentation. I am for the treaty. They have some doubts that we could not dispel. They have still stick [as heard] to their views. As to your second question, I am, I have some difficulties with that. If you would put that question to me in a week or so then I will be more ready to answer it.

[Kuznetsov] Already. Professor Plekhanov? The impact of the summit on the Soviet people?

[Plekhanov] Well, I hope that this will move the sceptics somewhat toward a (?readier) acceptance of these new treaties. At the same time, the insistence of NATO on inequitable reductions in conventional forces, and this is what NATO is talking about right now, could create doubts among, well, you know, we gave in on the INF issue 4 to 1. We're not going to give in on the conventional forces, especially in areas where we clearly do not think we have an edge. So it's a somewhat ambivalent impact, I expect.

[Kuznetsov] But we are still hopeful that there will be cuts in those areas where there are disparities.

[Plekhanov] Yes, this is fair, this is what we're insisting on. Cut, let each side cut where it has an edge.

[Bogdanov] I'm afraid that NATO and Warsaw treaty have different notion of fairness.

[Plekhanov] Well, that happens in any dispute, you know. Any (?criterion) has two definitions....

[Kuznetsov interrupting] Gentlemen, thank you very much. Our time is up, we've come to the end of "Top Priority." I'm Pavel Kuznetsov signing off at this time and wishing you all the best. Goodbye.

NATO Session Rejects Nuclear-Free World

AU061810 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Spartak Beglov, "NOVOSTI political observer," "especially written for NARODNA MLADEZH": "The 17th Participant in the 'Montebello' Plan?"]

[Text] The political observers initially connected the announcement on the extraordinary 2-day session of the NATO Council, which was set for the beginning of March at the level of state and governmental leaders, (the session begins today—editorial note), with the intention of the U.S. allies to give their blessing to President Reagan for the achievement of new agreements on the eve of the new USSR-U.S. summit in Moscow.

However, authoritative NATO sources hastened to prevent such illusions and explained that the main purpose of the session in Brussels was to reject the concept of the nuclear-free world on behalf of the entire Atlantic alliance. Such a reversal was bound to put the leader of the U.S. Administration in a precarious position, because he had repeatedly assured the Americans that he intended to move only along the road of saving the world from nuclear weapons.

Simultaneously, in recent weeks NATO's propaganda was conducted as if the INF Treaty, signed in Washington by the USSR and the United States, was not the beginning of a chain disarmament reaction, but a sinister gap in West Europe's security through which the tank armada of the Warsaw Pact could burst at any moment.

On 8 February, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, declared: "We are prepared to immediately proceed to a discussion of the imbalance and asymmetry in the balance of power in Europe, and commence negotiations on radically reducing the two countries' conventional weapons, along with their nuclear components." However, demands for an immediate "compensation" of NATO for the INF Treaty were voiced at the Munich session of NATO experts on disarmament, which ended on the eve of the Brussels session.

All this can only be explained by a striving to put before the public a fait accompli. It became apparent that this fact was indeed established 4 and 1/2 years ago in the Canadian town of Montebello, where the NATO defense ministers adopted a long-range plan on modernizing nuclear weapons in the "European theater." For a long time the plan has been kept totally secret from the public and parliamentarians of most countries.

Who was the first to reveal the secret of the Montebello Plan?" I asked the computer and learned from its answer that according to data of the international information centers, a group of researchers on peace issues from the University of Bradford in England first revealed the secret. When in March 1987 its associates had been granted access to the documents of the U.S. Congress, they have found the following program of action, which consists of several points: Replacing the old "Lance" missiles with new ones, with an increased radius of action; arming the artillery with new nuclear shells (each with the capacity of the Hiroshima bomb); and deploying new sea- and air-launched cruise missiles.

According to a report issued by the scientists, who are U.S. nuclear physicists, at the beginning of 1985, NATO's tactical nuclear arsenal in Europe included: airplane-launched bombs —1,075; artillery shells—1,660; "Lance" and "Honest John" missiles—895; and anti-aircraft defense nuclear shells and nuclear mines—870. Most of this data notes the reduction of obsolete and already inefficient kinds of tactical weapons.

The NATO generals released a sigh of relief. The legalization of the "Montebello Plan" will allow them to receive without any problem 600 shells (in addition to 300 shells with neutron warheads, which will be stored on the territory of the United States), plus 300 sea-launched cruise missiles, and even 1,300 air-launched cruise missiles.

The total amount of the new warheads will reach 2,300 units, which is almost three times more than the warheads NATO will "lose" as a result of the INF Treaty.

George Younger, England's minister of defense, used the following "murderous argument" in trying to dispel the concern of the members of the British Parliament: The INF Treaty refers to ground-launched cruise missiles, while the "Montebello Plan" gave the green light to a "completely different" category of missiles, namely, the air-launched cruise missiles. As if it makes any difference what kind of cruise missile will be used by England as a nuclear suicide weapon.

I do not discount the possibility that the "Montebello Plan" will become the 17th participant in the Brussels session (there are 16 members in the NATO Council—editorial note), in order to use the plan to block the "triple-zero." By this I mean the decision which will appear on the agenda if the treaty on the 50 percent reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic weapons becomes a fact. The leaders of NATO's military machine are trying to convince the world that each delay in "modernizing" tactical weapons, or relinquishing this kind of weapons, can only "serve the USSR." In fact they are rendering a disservice to themselves and to their countries by trying to derail the train of the nuclear disarmament.

IZVESTIYA Readers Write on INF Treaty

PM081421 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by V. Mikheyev: "Across Barriers of Prejudice. The Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles: Readers' Reactions and Thoughts"]

[Text] We and they, the citizens of the USSR and the United States, live in a fragile interdependent world. In what role do we want to see ourselves. As ideological opponents whom mutual intolerance commands should seek the truth on the field of battle? Or as partners in talks settling disputes through dialogue and proving our case by the force of our ideas?

IZVESTIYA readers are continuing to discuss these disturbing topics in their letters to the editorial board. The range of opinions is broader than ever, and they are sometimes diametrically opposed. The style of the reactions ranges from confessional reflections to perplexed questions and sometimes ironical rejoinders. But even a cursory survey makes it possible to single out the main theme.

This is a sense of relief after the Washington summit, revived hopes of fully improving bilateral ties, and a firm belief in the "new thinking." "In order to survive, it is not the arguments of weapons which are necessary but the weapons of argument, not the policy of force but the force of policy." These are the words of Ivan Rychkov, a teacher and war and labor veteran from Rostov-na-Donu.

"What was previously considered to be utopia and seemed impossible and even unthinkable has become reality," he continued. "It has come to pass! It has been signed! People have never agreed to destroy weapons before. And what weapons! Nuclear weapons—even if only 4 percent of all nuclear magazines are being eliminated, this is equivalent to the potential of 200 World War II's."

The significance of the agreement secured is historic. Letters from people like K. Kipkeyev from Karachayevsk, K. Isin from Temirtau, Kh. Lutfzade from Tajikistan, A. Ryzhkov from Leningrad, A. Vavrushko from Kamensk-Shakhtinsk, the Sakhatovye family from Ashkhabad, and many others are imbued with this spirit.

An important detail is that readers discuss the upcoming scrapping of modern combat equipment like thrifty owners. A. Kharakh from Leningrad wants to know what percentage of the materials from the missiles to be destroyed will be used in the economy. He is concerned that everything will be wasted and disappear uselessly, without benefit. R. Umerkin, a worker in a smelting plant from Tashkent, also writes about this.

Even yesterday the topic of how to beat swords into plowshares seemed fantasy, seemed to be jumping the gun. Today it has moved into the plane of vital concerns. Tomorrow, readers say in their letters, it will be necessary to think about reconversion—about switching military factories to peaceful tracks and how to do this skillfully, without losses and with the maximum benefit for society and the economy.

Practically none of the letterwriters question the fundamental course of conducting dialogue with the U.S. Administration. The stakes are too high in the nuclear era to abandon a path that is difficult but the only acceptable one: seeking similarities in positions and using diplomacy with a view not to achieving superiority but to establishing a balance of interests. But the complex of distrust in U.S. policy still remains. It emerged under the influence of the "cold war" and got a second wind when the U.S. Administration began in the early eighties to burn the bridges built according to the blueprints of the detente policy.

"What trap are they preparing for us?" Labor veteran N. Vishnyakova from Grodno Oblast asks this question. It is necessary to distinguish between reasonable compromises and unilateral concessions, she believes. The aim of the U.S. Administration is to sign a treaty with the

USSR as a tactical means of "gaining political capital for itself." "The United States will not take further steps in the disarmament sphere. The military-industrial complex will not allow it," the reader writes.

Yu. Dobrikov from Samarkand, who regards the "Irangate" scandal, the rise in the U.S. national debt, and the economic disorders as a factor in the conservative leadership's loss of popularity, also has his own assessment. Therefore, he concludes, "everything that is taking place before our eyes is a preelection publicity ballyhoo designed to boost Republican Party prestige and blaze a trail to the White House for its likeliest candidate—incumbent Vice President G. Bush."

Many letters weigh up and analyze the terms of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, especially the fact that the Soviet Union has pledged to destroy considerably more missiles and warheads than the United States. Most agreed that the quantitative aspect is balanced by the qualitative aspect: The United States is eliminating highly accurate Pershing-2 missiles whose flight time to targets on Soviet territory is 8-10 minutes. Readers have therefore correctly seen the treaty as the first real reduction in the threat of nuclear conflict and a step toward further nuclear disarmament.

Reports of NATO plans to "compensate" for the loss of the Eurostrategic weapons, deploy an additional number of bombers, and deliver sea- and air-launched cruise missiles to military facilities in Europe have aroused anxiety. In this event, G. Sidlyarevskiy, a participant in the war from Odessa, writes that we must have the right to restore equilibrium. In his opinion, a separate article stipulating such a right would by no means be superfluous in the agreement.

A letter from V. Potapov in Gorkiy begins on an alarming note.

"The West Europeans," he says, "are still talking now about the need to arm. What? There are fewer weapons but the 'threat from the East,' to hear Paris or London speak, is growing stronger. Where is the logic here?"

This does not exhaust the questions. Our letterwriters cannot understand, either, the fact that British and French nuclear weapons remain outside the disarmament process. V. Alekseyev from Kiev Oblast is particularly concerned by this. I. Deykin, a war invalid from Velikiye Luki, points out that after the signing of the treaty the voices of the "hawks" were heard in the United States and Western Europe voicing threats against the USSR, and often offensive speeches can be heard in Washington's upper echelons, "spreading hatred of our country." After this, the reader asks, "can we fully trust the United States?"

The editorial mail bearing foreign postmarks is vast. Malvina Kennan, from Norwalk, Connecticut, United States, writes about the dangerous research of scientists working on the creation of the latest types of weapons. The projects for the "militarization of space, nuclear weapons tests, and the accumulation of this monstrous destructive potential are now threatening man's habitat. This is all taking away millions of needy people's food, clothing, shelter, health, education, and job—everything on which they could depend as their birthright," this author writes to us.

Derek Collins from London calls for the planet to be rid of nuclear armaments and demands that research within the framework of the "star wars" program be curtailed.

"The very concept evokes horror," the author writes. "It is good that a leader has finally appeared in the world arena, a Soviet leader, who can give a worthy response to the challenge of the times."

Schoolteacher Akhtar Huseyn Aftab, who lives and teaches children in Bihar, India, appeals to the U.S. President, trying to persuade him to abandon SDI for humanity's sake. "I fully agree that a nuclear war must not be waged and that there will be no victors in a nuclear war. It will lead to universal destruction. It will be equivalent to thousands of Chernobyl tragedies and man will be unable to find salvation from radioactivity or from poisonous gases anywhere on earth. We in India saw the terrible consequences of the escape of poisonous gases from the Union Carbide enterprise in Bhopal. This prompts us to pay due tribute to the signed Soviet-U.S. treaty as the first step toward real disarmament."

Many foreign writers' vocabulary contains the words "perestroyka" and "glasnost." The concept of "new thinking," which has made it possible to approach the key problems of the day without bias, flexibly, and realistically is often encountered. This topic is also discussed expressively in the comments from Soviet citizens.

"You can only trust glasnost and openness. Words have been voiced sincerely that every people are free to elect their own government and live as they choose. It is being said that it is better to draw closer and copy the best things from one another and not remain the prisoner of one's own fear," V. Kalinichev, a student at Kiev State University, writes.

Nuclear weapons hold billions of people hostage. They are the source of mutual distrust and fear. The agreement between the USSR and the United States against a backdrop of many years of efforts to accumulate destructive potential equal in current terms to 6,000 World War II's is not merely a landmark in their bilateral relations. It is a turning point, a point of departure in world politics toward cooperation rather than confrontation, toward transforming the planet into a common peaceful house, and not into an armed camp.

IZVESTIYA readers are reflecting on this because each of them understands and senses that he or she is involved in this restructuring of international relations, notably between the USSR and the United States. This is a matter of deep concern for them.

Zaykov, Nikonov Attend CP Conference on Fair
LD272220 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Excerpts] A conference of the Moscow city Communist Party committee was held today. It considered the tasks of the party, Soviet, and economic bodies for holding a preliminary fair in Moscow. Comrades Zaykov and Nikonov spoke. All the union republics as well as 35 krays and oblasts of the RSFSR will take part in the International Womens Day fair. Here are some more figures: People will trade in Moscow at more than 240 points. Over R5 million worth of goods will be sold to the population and guests of the city. [passage omitted] Almost R175 million worth of souvenirs, perfume, accessories, and gifts will also be sold during pre-festive days, we must add. It is intended to allow longer opening hours for the convenience of customers.

'Tense' UN Human Rights Session at Geneva Viewed
PM081225 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by NOVOSTI correspondent for PRAVDA V. Katin: "Stormy February in Geneva. The 44th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights Continues"]

[Text] Geneva, 1 Mar—Stormy debates continued all during February in the Palais des Nations in Geneva—the 44th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights is taking place here. This year, delegations fr 43 states are taking part in it and approximately envoys are attending as observers, as ar the representatives of approximately 100 international nongovernmental organizations.

Summing up the results of the work that has been done, V.V. Lomeyko, the head of the Soviet delegation, pointed out that it has taken place in an atmosphere of tense political struggle. The United States, relying on its closest NATO allies, is trying to impose a confrontational approach toward the problems under discussion. This time the anti-Cuban theme has been chosen as the main avenue. The U.S. delegation came to Geneva with the obvious aim of distracting attention from scandalous violations of human rights in those places where they are in fact taking place, hushing up such cases in their own country, and trying to accuse others. However, thanks to the Soviet delegation's constructive position, which has been supported by many nonaligned countries, the discussion is by and large taking place in a businesslike atmosphere.

In the past month, resolutions have been adopted on such fundamental questions as the very flagrant violation of Palestinians' elementary rights on the Israeli-occupied Arab lands, the extreme deterioration in the situation of the indigenous population in South Africa, the execution of international agreements on human rights, and the condemnation of the use of torture.

One feature of the present session is typical—the presence of victims of brutalities and arbitrary rule and their emotional speeches from the meeting's rostrum. Thus, during the examination of the tragic events on the Israeli-occupied territories, proof was given of the occupiers' systematic use of torture. It is significant that during the voting on the resolution condemning Israel, the U.S. delegation was the only one to vote against. U.S. representatives have also adopted the same position on the question of the South African racists' atrocities.

December marks the 40th anniversary to the day of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore the Geneva session is also taking place with the task of summing up the results of what has been done during this time and what remains on the agenda. There is every ground for sounding the alarm over the most serious violations of human rights in Chile, the RSA, Israel, Turkey, Iran, and other countries. The international community must come even more firmly and resolutely to the defense of people's violated dignity.

UN Chief Cited on Possible PLO Mission Closure
PM081107 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the "Abroad" rubric: "On a Far Fetched Pretext"]

[Text] New York, 27 Feb—U.S. Attorney General Edwin ...ese has taken a decision which lays the legal "foun...tions" for closing down the office of the PLO permanent observer at the United Nations. Citing administration spokesmen, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported yesterday that this may be officially announced on the return of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz from his visit to the Near East: The White House is afraid that "an early statement would complicate Shultz's efforts to enlist Arab countries' support" for the American plan for a peace settlement in the region.

The attorney general's decision is based on an amendment made by the Senate last year to a bill on State Department activity expenditures in 1988, which envisages the closure of the PLO permanent observer's mission on the far-fetched pretext of "combating terrorism." The amendment has provoked a dispute within the administration. Some State Department staffers, for example, fear that the closure of the mission may run counter to international laws and, in particular, to the agreement reached between the United Nations and the U.S. Government regarding the situation of central UN institutions.

As expected, this step has provoked strong criticism in UN circles. As a statement by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar emphasizes, "the PLO was granted the status of a UN observer on the basis of a decision by the 29th General Assembly session and, as the host country, the United States is bound to observe agreements between the United Nations and the U.S. Government concerning the situation of central UN institutions and to guarantee personnel at the PLO observer's mission the right to remain in the United States to carry out their duties."

Western Foreign Ministers Meeting Rescheduled

LD081002 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Bonn March 8 TASS—Owing to "calendar difficulties", a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of seven major industrialised powers of the West, which was to be held here at the end of March, has been cancelled.

Reports from diplomatic circles have it that such a meeting is now tentatively scheduled to be held in New York in September this year outside the framework of the annual autumn session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The meeting is to be attended by the foreign ministers of the United States, Japan, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, France, and Italy.

United States & Canada

Shultz, PRC Foreign Minister Discuss 'Obstacles'

LD081449 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS—Talks between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and visiting Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian were held here on Monday.

According to statements by U.S. officials, main attention at the talks was devoted to matters aimed at broadening trade and political relations. Not the least place on the agenda was occupied by the discussion of the situation in the Persian Gulf and human rights issues.

Although no details of the talks were reported, discussions, judging by the exchange of speeches at the luncheon given in the U.S. Department of State in honour of the Chinese minister, had not been smooth, and that there were differences between the PRC and the USA over a number of important international issues.

Wu Xueqian said that there existed a huge potential of development but that there were also obstacles and difficulties.

Beijing is displeased, in particular, with U.S. trade and customs barriers to the import of Chinese textiles as well as with restrictions on the delivery of U.S. up-to-date technology to the PRC.

Reagan Meets Wu Xueqian

LD090853 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

U.S. President Ronald Reagan Tuesday met with Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian in the White House.

A White House official spokesman said the prime objective of Wu's visit was to further economic and political contacts between the United States and China.

Judging by remarks by U.S. officials, the White House talks, which involved also Secretary of State George Shultz, covered a wide range of international issues and bilateral matters.

The White House spokesman said after the meeting that Wu had shown an interest in the current state of U.S.-Soviet relations and expressed his country's support for the INF Treaty and hope for a successful outcome of negotiations for working out an agreement to reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic arms.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, a newspaper close to government circles, said ahead of the Chinese foreign minister's arrival that he would be seeking to mitigate disagreements that had caused tension in relations between the United States and China.

U.S. Administration officials in their statements had clearly attempted to play down the existing frictions in bilateral relations. President Reagan told newsmen before the White House talks that the U.S. relationship with China was most cordial.

The spokesman quoted Reagan as having said at the negotiations themselves that the United States wanted to broaden trade and security cooperation with China.

The United States made a point of sidestepping the delicate issue of its relations with Taiwan. According to the spokesman, the President said this country pursued the policy of a "single China," but would make every effort to facilitate contacts between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan.

Reagan Addresses Veterans on Military Might

LD081714 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

Speaking to participants in the annual convention of the conservative organization Veterans of Foreign Wars, President Reagan highly assessed the signing of the INF Treaty and pointed to the need for its ratification. However, the keynote of his speech was an idea that "the road to peace is through American and free world strength".

Reagan emphasized that "this is not the time to drop our guard". He called for strengthening further the military might of the USA and the NATO bloc. "In Europe," the president said, "this means continuing to modernize our remaining nuclear forces, and modernizing our conventional forces as well, giving them what is called 'smart weapons'."

Reagan also pointed to the firm intention of the United States to continue investigations within the Strategic Defense Initiative which turned into a major roadblock in the way of reaching understandings on cutting strategic weapons. "Keeping American strategically strong means...America must research, develop, and test SDI, and when it's ready, we must deploy it."

In an attempt to justify plans of deploying a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements, Reagan again resorted to claims that the SDI will be "America's best guarantee that the Soviets will stick to their agreements". The President also alleged that the USSR is engaged in large-scale work in this sphere. Under this pretext the

head of the administration demanded that Congress should not cut a request forwarded by the White House on military expenditures for the next fiscal year.

The President used his speech to demand again continuation of aid to Nicaraguan contras.

Demchenko on U.S. Palestinian 'Offensive'

PM081559 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[P. Demchenko commentary under the "Political Diary" rubric: "Hand in Glove"]

[Text] The barbaric methods used by the Israeli authorities to crush the Palestinian uprising on the occupied territories have somehow overshadowed another front on which a real offensive against this courageous people is being mounted. I have in mind the actions of the U.S. Administration, which has chosen the vanguard of the Palestinian people, the PLO, as the target of its attacks.

The U.S. Congress has recently adopted a decision which provides for the closure of the PLO mission at the United Nations Organization. The President, reportedly not too willingly, signed this document which has thus assumed the force of law. This in itself is an unprecedented step which is in breach of the obligations accepted by the United States in respect of the United Nations, but it is by no means the only attack against the Palestinians. Back in the middle of last year the U.S. authorities announced the closure of the Palestinian information bureau in Washington. A routine explanation was given—"combating terrorism." When journalists asked the State Department spokesman whether he had proof of the complicity of the bureau staff in terrorist actions he merely shrugged his shoulders and replied laconically: "Absolutely none."

It appears the operations of the Israeli goons who are breaking Palestinian youths' fingers to prevent them from ever again picking up their main weapon—cobble stones—just like the U.S. offensive against the PLO, while not being coordinated as such, are nonetheless connected and pursue the same aim—weakening the PLO and the Palestinians' will to fight. After all, it is no secret that the positions of Washington and Tel Aviv on this fully coincide. They want to have nothing to do with this organization, exclude it from any talks on a Near East settlement, and prevent its participation in an international conference, the idea of which is knocking increasingly insistently on the door.

U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz' recent tour of Near East countries has provided more than one confirmation of this. He arrived with a package of proposals whose essence, judging by U.S. and Near East press reports, boiled down to cooling the heat of the Palestinian uprising, temporarily defusing the Near East powder keg, and doing everything but resolving the Palestinian problem fundamentally and in accordance with the demands of the people.

While in Jerusalem the secretary of state called on the Palestinians "to open peace talks with Israel," without the PLO's participation, of course. It was no accident that on the day of his arrival in the "eternal city" the inhabitants of the Arab sector of Jerusalem held a general strike under the slogan "We support the PLO!" Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories refused to attend a meeting with Shultz, despite the fact that they had been invited.

"We are not against dialogue with the U.S. Administration," PLO Chairman Y. 'Arafat said in Tunis, "but we will not agree to the United States or anyone else choosing our delegates or telling us who should represent us. This choice can be made only by the Palestinian people and their leaders."

It was in this situation that loud demands to apply the law on the closure of the Palestinian mission at the United Nations Organization rang out in Washington. In response, an emergency meeting of the 42d UN General Assembly session was held whose delegates demanded by an overwhelming number of votes that normal working conditions be ensured for them and instructed the International Court in The Hague to resolve the question of the validity of the demand concerning the closure of the PLO mission in New York. It is paradoxical, the Yugoslav representative said, that the United Nations "is being forced to discuss this question at the very moment when the Palestinian people have risen fully determined to realize their right to self-determination and independence."

In my view, it is even more paradoxical that Washington is still refusing to understand that no genuine settlement is possible in the Near East without the participation of authoritative representatives of the Palestinian people, which is what the PLO is. If they really want such a settlement, and they talk about it a lot in the U.S. capital at the moment, they must stop looking over their shoulder at Israel all the time and stop condoning its vandalism. Would it not be better to switch to collective efforts with the participation of all interested parties to disentangle the tight Near East knot through joint efforts? This cannot be done, as the history of recent decades has shown, without adopting an objective stance and showing respect for the interests of all peoples, including the Palestinians, of course.

Colin Powell Calls NATO Meeting 'Successful'

LD090943 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

A cabinet session in the White House Tuesday, which was chaired by President Reagan, discussed the outcome of the NATO Council summit held in Brussels last week.

One of the principal objectives pursued by the Washington administration at the meeting of the heads of state and government of the NATO member countries, the first in the last six years, was to demonstrate their agreement if only on the main directions of the military policy. So now, speaking on the USIA Worldnet channels, Colin Powell, assistant to the President for national security affairs, touted the outcome of the Brussels meeting as very successful.

These statements, however, are unable to conceal the fact that the NATO Council session, which was convened specially in the runup to the important negotiations due to be held by President Reagan in Moscow, failed to patch up the differences that have increased inside the North Atlantic alliance following the signing of the treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The session has not resolved, for instance, the issue of the U.S. residual tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe, first and foremost, the Lance missiles. Powell was forced to admit in the interview that "a follow-on to the Lance missile system" will be "one of the most controversial replacement actions."

Kornilov on Purposes of Travel Exchanges

PM082025 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
2 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Kornilov "Ironical Sketch": "On Your Guard: Soviet Delegation!..."]

[Text] The watchdogs of U.S. conservatism are sounding the alarm. They are calling for vigilance and demanding emergency measures. What has happened? It appears that recently—since the time when the pointer of the international political barometer started shifting from "cloudy" to "clear" as a result of the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—various exchanges between the United States and the USSR have expanded noticeably. Various delegations—students and scientists, physicians and artists—are arriving in the United States from the Soviet Union. The number of U.S. public organizations maintaining contacts with the USSR has almost doubled in the last few years from 130 to 250.

Hitherto we have assumed that both sides felt such exchanges were something good and positive: After all, it does promote better knowledge of one another and helps to build, step by step, bridges of trust. It appears, however, that many people in the United States think otherwise. Especially some "Sovietologists" who, over the years, have become experts at composing the "enemy image": They are the ones who have accurate knowledge of the ulterior motives behind the frequent visits by Soviet citizens to the United States! Why is it, for example, that whenever Soviet visitors arrive on U.S. soil they speak so often about their country's desire for peace and for curbing the arms race? Stephen Rhinesmith, former coordinator of the Soviet-U.S. exchanges program, has no doubts as to the answer: Moscow's emissaries are obeying the Kremlin's secret instructions! Highly sophisticated instructions, especially designed to "lull" gullible Americans....

This "discovery" by one "specialist on Soviet Russia" is aptly supplemented by another one—Professor Roy Godson. Having thoroughly researched not only the question of how Soviet people are instructed to behave in the United States but also what they were doing before their departure, the professor established: Before boarding the aircraft, every Soviet citizen traveling to America must go through an extremely important and, of course, absolutely secret procedure—to sign a form that he... "agrees to follow the state's instructions." No signature, no travel. As soon as you have scribbled your signature on the secret slip of paper—kindly perform the "state assignment": Engage everyone you meet in "subversive conversations" whose purpose is to "influence U.S. public opinion" and to ultimately convert all Americans to the Communist faith....

There is another "Kremlinologist" from the same stable, who is famous in the United States—Yale Richmond. He does not dispute his colleagues' perspicacious postulate that the "main assignment" performed by Soviet delegations in the United States is "Communist propaganda." But, in an attempt to intimidate ordinary Americans even more effectively, Richmond also claims it is more than just a matter of propaganda and that visits by Soviet delegations are often "prompted by desire to gain access to U.S. technology." True enough, according to Richmond himself, the Americans also "gain benefits by acquiring information on the achievements by Soviet science" during bilateral meetings and contacts. But the "gain of benefits" by Americans is one thing, while the treacherous designs by "Russian agents" is something quite different....

Hitherto we have talked about the dangers threatening "free America" as a result of Soviet people's visits to the United States—but what about visits by Americans to Russia? It appears that the situation here is even more alarming. "Americans returning from the Soviet Union subconsciously repeat whatever they have heard there," John Finnerty, an "expert on cooperation problems," says, sounding the alarm. How is this supposed to be understood? There are two possible explanations: Either Moscow has invented as yet unknown methods for implanting "subversive ideas" in each and every one or, and this is more probable, Mr Finnerty has a rather poor opinion of his globe-trotting compatriots whom he depicts more like parrots than actual people with their own opinions.

All this would perhaps be ridiculous had it not been offered in all seriousness by what would appear to be a serious U.S. newspaper—THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

MONITOR. "Americans ought to be careful in the matter of mutual exchanges," this bourgeois press organ pontificates, referring to "Russia specialists." But what about the Helsinki accords which provide for expansion of exchanges of ideas and people and which—at least in words—are so zealously promoted by Washington? THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR is silent on this account. Not a single word from the "Sovietologists," either....

China

Rogachev Discusses Mutual Relations

OW090739 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] In his talks to LIAOWANG, a Beijing weekly, Soviet leader Gorbachev pointed out: China is our neighbor, and we are satisfied with our constantly developing and mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, cultural, scientific, educational, and sports spheres.

This is fact. Soviet-Chinese relations are developing with each passing day. This can be clearly proved by the two countries' trade, which grew from R490 million in 1983 to R1.8 billion in 1986. The two countries' border trade has also been developing at an unprecedented speed. During the past 5 years, the trade between China's Heilongjiang Province and the Far Eastern parts of the USSR has increased 3.4 times. The two countries also have increasingly broader contacts in scientific, art, and cultural areas.

Incidentially, Deng Xiaoping's book—Fundamental Issues of Contemporary China—was recently published in the USSR; and Gorbachev's new book—Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World—was published in China. Such positive changes in Soviet-Chinese relations have given us even greater hopes for the future.

Will there be a fundamental breakthrough in Soviet-Chinese relations in the near future? A reporter of this station recently interviewed Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Rogachev and sought his comments on this question.

Rogachev said: [a few seconds of recorded speech are heard, fading into announcer's voice] We are anticipating an improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. The tendency toward improvement has already begun and is developing. I think we should not be too hasty in this regard. We have begun to resolve some problems. [Words indistinct] proceeding a step at a time. Generally speaking, the situation that has been created in Soviet-Chinese relations can adequately enable each and every Soviet and Chinese citizen to be optimistic about the future.

The reporter then asked Vice Foreign Minister Rogachev how he would evaluate Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan and the prospects for settling regional conflicts and removing the obstacles in Soviet-Chinese relations.

The vice foreign minister replied: [a few seconds of recorded speech are heard, fading into announcer's voice] In the international arena on this earth, the USSR follows the guidelines set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress. One of the major principles guiding our foreign policy is to eliminate international conflicts, hot spots, and regional conflicts. It is specifically from this standpoint that we approach the Afghanistan and Cambodian issues. Needless to say, we hold the same attitude toward the situation in the Korean peninsula, South Africa, and Central America. Without doubt, the Afghanistan issue is one of the issues that will be settled on a priority basis. In his 8 February statement, Gorbachev said that he hoped the settlement of the Afghanistan issue would become a breakthrough in the struggle for peace, regional security, and elimination of regional conflicts.

Since Vice Foreign Minister Rogachev can speak Chinese, and in view of the fact that the Lantern Festival is around the corner, Rogachev was asked to say a few words in Chinese to our listeners.

[Begin Rogachev recording in Chinese] I wholeheartedly wish all Chinese comrades and friends (?good health!) [end recording]

Late Premier Zhou Enlai Remembered

OW051315 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners, the Soviet people cherish their profound memory of Zhou Enlai, a prominent Chinese party and state leader. On Wednesday 2 March from 1600 to 2000 Beijing time, this station will report a soiree held at the International Friendship House in Moscow in commemoration of the 90th birth anniversary of Zhou Enlai. His great contributions to developing and strengthening the friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and Soviet peoples are still vivid in the Soviet people's memory. Zhou Enlai visited the Soviet Union on many occasions. Today, we would like to reminisce together with our listeners about his remarks on Soviet-Chinese relations.

On 6 November 1952 in Beijing, Zhou Enlai spoke at a rally in celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He said: The Chinese people learned Marxism-Leninism from the Soviet Union and won victory in their revolution with the Soviet people's sincere assistance. Following the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people ushered in a new era. The Soviet Government's generous aid enabled us to strengthen our national defense, overcome economic blockade imposed by the imperialist countries, and

achieve rapid advances in rehabilitating our economy. Undoubtedly, further strengthening of Sino-Soviet friendship and cooperation is of great importance to successful completion of the large-scale economic construction to be carried out by China in the near future.

Zhou Enlai repeatedly discussed the question of Soviet-Chinese friendship and cooperation. At the Eighth CPC National Congress in 1956, he spoke highly of the work of experts from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in China. Discussing the significance of enhancing friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries at the NPC [National People's Congress] Session in April 1959, he pointed out: To strengthen the unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is China's basic policy. We have learned from our own experience that mutual assistance and cooperation among the socialist countries is a prerequisite for smooth development throughout those countries.

The Soviet people cherish their profound memory of Zhou Enlai, and have great esteem for his contributions to the cause of socialism in China and the friendship between the people of our two countries. Dear listeners, all staff of the Mandarin Editorial Department of Moscow Radio have a special feeling for Zhou Enlai and his wife and comrade-in-arms Deng Yingchao. Today, veteran staff members still remember their former colleagues saying in the forties that Deng Yingchao was the first female Mandarin announcer for the radio. She took up the job at the request of Zhou Enlai, when they were together in Moscow, at a time when the radio had just begun its Mandarin program beamed to China. These were reminiscences of a half century or so ago.

Rogachev Attends Soiree

PM090919 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To the Memory of Zhou Enlai"]

[Text] A ceremonial soiree devoted to the 90th anniversary of the birth of Zhou Enlai, the eminent PRC statesman and party figure, was held in Moscow 1 March by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

The speakers—Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Central Board; M.L. Titarenko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Far East; and others—noted Zhou Enlai's outstanding contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement and the victory of the people's revolution, to building the new society in China, enhancing its role in international affairs, and expanding the PRC's ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Present at the soiree were USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev, members of the Central Board and activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and also Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

1987 Economic Statistics, Growth Cited

PM090933 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 1

[TASS report: "The Year's Results"]

[Text] Beijing, 1 Mar—Last year the PRC's national income increased by 9.3 percent compared with the previous year to reach 915.3 billion yuan. This is reported in an announcement by the PRC State Statistical Bureau which was distributed here.

The gross volumes of industrial and agricultural output, the announcement says, reached 1,378 billion yuan and 444.7 billion yuan respectively, achieving a growth of 16.5 and 4.7 percent respectively against 1986. The grain crop harvest produced 402.41 million tonnes.

At the same time, negative phenomena still existed in the Chinese economy, like, for example, price increases for basic goods including a 7.2 percent increase of food prices.

According to the data, China's population was 1.08 billion persons at the end of 1987.

Commenting on the results of the country's development, the Chinese press draws attention to the considerable growth of nonagricultural production in the countryside. The output by district and settlement enterprises exceeded agricultural output in value terms and amounted to 459.4 billion yuan.

Moscow TV Describes Reforms in Retail Trade

LD081258 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0922 GMT 8 Mar 88

["In the Countries of Socialism" program, presented by Marina Orlova; video report by correspondent V. Kulikov]

[Excerpt] China today is moving along the path of reforms which embrace all areas of the life of this 1 billion strong people, and this includes, of course, the retail trade sphere. They've been skillful traders in China in every age. Today, when the reforms have unleashed initiative and provided scope for creativity, retail trade has brimmed from the stores into the streets and alleyways of the Chinese cities. The private markets, or the free markets as they are called in China, have become very popular here. They are open here from morning until evening. The range of goods is very wide. Here on the noisy city streets people vote with the ruble—or more precisely with the yuan—both for the quality of the goods and the type of service. The state and cooperative stores have had to think about new ways of trading, too.

One of the heroines of the retail trade in China is a young, energetic and charming woman. She is a Hero of Labor and a delegate of the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communists. (Guan Guangmei) is director general of a trading company from the town of Benxi in the province of Liaoning. Replying to questions from both Chinese and foreign journalists at a Beijing press conference, she describes how she took a lease on eight state and collective food stores 2 years ago, overcoming strong competition and putting her own money at risk. More than 1,000 people work for her retail trade enterprise. The stores which are managed by (Guan) are the best in the city. Her own personal pay is 12 times greater than the pay of the highest paid worker in her system. But it is not money that has brought her success and renown both in China and abroad. I want to go further, (Guan) says. I have an idea for setting up a Chinese trading trust, bringing together different state, collective and private structures, making use of the whole range of resources—leasing, contracting, shareholding. In this way I will make my own contribution to the construction of Chinese-style socialism. Plans, as they say in China, which reach up into the clouds. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

Deadline Set for Salmon Fishing Ban

OW041415 Tokyo KYODO in English 2212 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo, March 4 KYODO—The Soviet Union asked Japan Friday to stop salmon fishing outside the Soviet 200-mile exclusive waters at the earliest possible date before the end of 1992. At the same time, it offered to permit Japanese salmon fishing within its 200-mile waters, government officials said.

The new Soviet proposal was advanced on the fifth day here of the annual bilateral fishery talks, aimed at fixing Japan's salmon catch quota for this year in offshore fishing outside the 200-mile zone and conditions for the operations of Japanese fishing boats.

This marked the first time that the Soviet Union had set a clear-cut deadline for the termination of Japan's offshore salmon fishing, although it referred to its intention calling for an end to it at last year's talks.

On the first day of the current talks last Monday, Soviet delegate Vyacheslav K. Zilanov, chief of the International Affairs Department of the Ministry of Fish Industries, hinted at the possibility of demanding a ban, denouncing the "irrationality" of catching salmon before their return to their mother rivers in the Soviet Union and thus damaging salmon runs in northern waters.

At Friday's session, Japanese delegate Kenichi Unno, director of the Oceanic Fisheries Department of the Fisheries Agency, promptly rejected the Soviet proposal, pointing out that Japan's right of offshore fishing is guaranteed by the bilateral fisheries agreement. He said Japan has no intention whatever of terminating its traditional offshore salmon fishing in northern waters, the officials said. Unno said that Japan's survey shows a considerable recovery of salmon runs in northern waters. One of the reasons for a low ratio of salmon return to Soviet rivers is an excess of parent salmon, he said. At the same time, he proposed that Japan's salmon catch quota be increased by 5,500 tons from last year to 30,000 tons.

The Soviet delegate said that, as a precondition for permitting Japanese salmon fishing within the Soviet 200-mile waters, Japan should pay compensation in the form of funds for fisheries cooperation, and also cooperate in Soviet efforts for the reproduction of salmon spawned in Soviet rivers. He also called for Japanese cooperation in the construction of a salmon hatchery in Sakhalin through a joint venture, the officials said.

Unno proposed that a part of the high seas north of 48 degrees north latitude be newly opened to Japanese salmon fishing boats in place of some of the existing fishing grounds. He also asked that fishing grounds for small fishing boats, based on the Pacific coast, be expanded beyond 44 degrees north latitude, the officials said.

Police Surveillance in Japan Examined

OW060751 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 3 Mar 88

["Excerpts" from article by Igor Latyshev, PRAVDA correspondent in Tokyo]

[Text] Mr Yasuo Ogata of the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] Central Committee a half a year ago made an unpleasant discovery. He discovered by accident that the Kanagawa prefectural police authorities had installed a bugging device close to Mr Ogata's house. This incident shows that Japanese Government circles, which are fond of professing democracy, act as if nothing happened after infringing on the people's fundamental, democratic civil rights and liberties.

With the support of various social groups, Mr and Mrs Ogata recently published a book. For the benefit of other people, the couple exposed in the book the the police surveillance system, including the wiretapping of their home telephone.

The other day, at Shinnihon Publishing House, I met with two lawyers handling this incident and inquired about it. One of them was Mr Tatsuzo Ono, who has authored a number of books exposing various violations of the people's democratic freedoms. The other was Mr Ryojun Kobayashi, a lawyer handling lawsuits on human rights infringements.

I asked the two lawyers: Is privacy protected in Japan? Mr Tatsuzo Ono replied: The postwar constitution provides for the people's fundamental, democratic rights,

but the police, ignoring them, are confidentially gathering information and conducting surveillance of various social organizations and their members. Surveillance of Communist Party members and antinuclear activists is one example.

Sometimes the police even keep watch on day nursery workers and staff members of amateur drama circles. According to newspaper reports, in the latter half of the sixties, the police drew up protocols—each made up of 100 items of description—on 1 million Japanese individuals. Nowadays, protocols are drawn up on dozens of millions of individuals, using computers.

In the prefectural police, there is a special division called Division 4. Surveillance and telephone monitoring are functions of this division.

Continuing Mr Tatsuzo Ono's story, Mr Ryojun Kobayashi said: Normally the purpose of surveillance is to collect information on individuals and social organizations believed to be engaged in political activities undesirable in the eyes of the authorities. This is done under the pretext of maintaining public order. Mr Kobayashi said: In Japan, there are no laws provided for the express purpose of protecting privacy. Under the criminal code, for instance, there are no penal provisions on telephone bugging.

In reply to my question as to what the people whose privacy has been infringed upon then should do, Mr Tatsuzo Ono said: The victims go to the Prosecutor's Office to make an appeal, but it is really no use since the Prosecutor's Office does not want to hurt its relations with the police. As a result, the only alternative is to file a suit with the court, but in that case, there absolutely must be substantial evidence to support the claim, and normally the case is that such evidence is inadequate. With very few exceptions, the Japanese police do not leave any evidence. For instance, almost no evidence is left at all even when the police have censored letters. But there appear to be relatively many cases being uncovered of police attempts to recruit spies from the JCP and other social organizations. According to JCP data, during the period from 1982 to 1985, there were some 400 cases uncovered of police trying to recruit spies from among JCP members, Mr Tatsuzo Ono said.

Results of TASS-KYODO Poll Reported

OW080759 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Mankind should usher in a nuclear-free world in the new century. This is a conviction held by an absolute majority of Soviets and Japanese participating in an opinion poll conducted jointly by TASS news agency and KYODO NEWS SERVICE of Japan. On a question concerning the abolition of nuclear arms before the 21st century, 99.4 percent of the Soviet people and 87.3 percent of the Japanese expressed support.

The questionnaires were addressed to people in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Hokkaido, Tohoku, and Kanto. Under an arrangement between the organizers of the survey, replies were collected from 635 Russians and 1,090 Japanese.

The people of both countries responded to telephone surveys on how nuclear reductions or nuclear abolition should be carried out and on the present status and prospects of Soviet-Japanese relations. The survey showed that in both the Soviet Union and Japan, the INF Treaty was welcomed as a realistic first step toward abolishing nuclear arms. Of those surveyed, 99.4 percent of the Soviet citizens and 86 percent of the Japanese favored conclusion of the treaty.

Results of the survey, in which people of various occupations and ages took part, clearly showed that a majority of people in the Soviet Union and Japan feel uneasy about the U.S. Government's plan to extend the arms race into space. Of the Soviet citizens responding to a questionnaire on the so-called Star Wars plan, 94.8 percent were critical of it. With respect to Japan's participation in the plan, only 22.8 percent of the Japanese respondents favored it while 57.8 percent opposed it. The remaining 19.4 percent had no definite opinion.

On the role of mass communications media in promoting trust and mutual understanding among nations and peoples, the survey showed that of the Japanese who responded, 82.3 percent said that they thought information on the Soviet Union available from Japanese mass media, books, and films was inadequate.

On the other hand, the Soviet people's level of satisfaction with information available on Japan appeared to be somewhat higher, with 62.2 percent of the Soviet citizens surveyed replying that they thought information on Japan was inadequate. Can we not say that this inadequacy of information is truly the cause of the incomplete and sometimes erroneous understanding of each other and of the history of bilateral relations between the peoples of the two neighboring countries?

Replying to the question, do you think that the Soviet Union is an economically developed country, only 35.4 percent of the Japanese respondents gave affirmative answers, while in the Soviet Union 97.9 percent of the respondents replied that they thought Japan was an economically developed country.

Probably the biggest success of this survey was that the people who participated in it were found to favor improvement in mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Japan. Replying to the question, do you desire improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations, 98.9 percent and 84.2 percent of the Russian and Japanese respondents, respectively, gave affirmative answers.

Of the Soviet and Japanese respondents, 96.5 percent and 61.8 percent, respectively, were in favor of expanded Soviet-Japan economic and trade relations including the establishment of joint ventures.

AUCCTU Delegation Ends Visit to DPRK

LD062332 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2050 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Excerpt] The official friendly visit to the DPRK by a Soviet trade union delegation, led by Comrade Zhalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, has ended. The Soviet trade union delegation was received by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK. Speaking about the international situation, he stressed that the DPRK thinks highly of the personal contribution of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the cause of strengthening peace. We, the Korean leader stated, support the new efforts by the Soviet Union aimed at creating a nuclear-free world. The successful development of ties between the working class and trade unions of the two countries was also noted. Gratitude was expressed for the Soviet Union's cooperation in constructing several important installations for the DPRK's national economy.

During the visit an agreement was signed on developing cooperation between the trade unions of the USSR and the DPRK.

The delegation of Soviet trade unions visited industrial, cultural, and educational institutions in the DPRK and also visited a construction site in the capital. [passage omitted]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentator Urges Continued Cambodian Dialogue

BK090438 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Station Observer Vladimir Korolov commentary]

[Text] Despite counterattacks by Cambodian reactionaries and outside forces, the national reconciliation process in Cambodia is spreading. This was stated by a Cambodian leader, Chea Sim, during talks in Phnom Penh with a delegation from the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries. Our station observer, Comrade Vladimir Korolev, comments.

The atmosphere in the whole of Southeast Asia largely depends on how the situation in Cambodia and around it evolves. Things have shown that peace can be restored in Cambodia only through negotiations. The PRK Government has put forward a national reconciliation program. It is within the framework of this program that two meetings took place between the comrade head of government Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, who represents a group from the opposing Cambodian side. Invited to attend this kind of talks were representatives of other Cambodian groups, except Pol Pot and his close associates, who are guilty of massacring 3 million Cambodian people.

The talks between the Cambodian sides, according to their own assessment, were useful and fruitful. At the same time, it is not difficult to understand that a complex problem such as the Cambodian issue cannot be resolved quickly. On the path toward resolving the Cambodian problem and ending the conflict, there are still many difficulties because several aspects of the issue affect not only the Cambodian people themselves, but other states as well.

Leaders of some states still stubbornly oppose the national reconciliation policy. This, in my view, has influenced Samdech Sihanouk's activities. He has changed his mind twice already on talks with Comrade Hun Sen. However, the PRK Government persistently continues to promote the negotiations, which have already started. As for Samdech Sihanouk, judging from the interview he recently granted to AFP, he did not rule out the possibility that he would meet again with the comrade head of the Cambodian Government. Those who are in favor of a speedy normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia are interested in seeing the Cambodian parties carrying on their talks to the end. These talks have been supported by India, Indonesia, and France. In the Soviet Union, people think that for the Cambodian parties, there is no better choice than political negotiations. The Soviet Union supports the national reconciliation process in Cambodia and is doing what it can to successfully promote this process.

To this end, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan is one of special significance. In this statement, it is pointed out that if the Afghan problem can be resolved, it would profoundly influence conflicts in other regions, such as the conflict in Cambodia. The Soviet leader's statement has received support from the PRK.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Vietnam

PM081517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Domogatskikh dispatch: "Expanding Ties"]

[Text] Hanoi, 29 Feb—The increasing volume of diverse Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation demands a constant search for and development of new forms and avenues, more efficient use of equipment, savings in raw and other materials, and increased labor productivity.

These are the main demands of the agreement signed here on the basic thrusts and principles of the organization of international socialist competition at installations of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. It is difficult now perhaps to find a sector of the SRV national economy where specialists of the two countries are not working together.

While setting the task of increasing the efficiency of our cooperation as a whole and the activity of installations built with Soviet assistance, in particular, the agreement also includes other important questions, for example, the expansion of direct ties among USSR and SRV enterprises.

Near East & South Asia

Tehran Envoy Reports on Embassy Situation

LD081719 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] As we have already reported, a provocation took place in Tehran against the USSR Embassy on 6 March. A TASS correspondent contacted the USSR Ambassador in Tehran by telephone and inquired about the situation there today—the situation around the Soviet Embassy in Tehran. The USSR ambassador told the TASS correspondent the following:

In connection with the firing of missiles against Tehran by Iraq, some people in Iran [Moscow in Persian to Iran at 1800 GMT on 8 March in a similar broadcast reports: "some officials in Iran...] tried without justification to ascribe to the USSR responsibility for these actions and to direct the feelings of bitterness they had caused among the inhabitants of Tehran against the USSR Embassy in the Iranian capital. On 6 March, a crowd that gathered near the embassy tried to burst into our territory. In the end, the authorities managed to get the situation under control and prevent anything worse from happening. The embassy building did not suffer any damage and the Soviet flag continues to fly at the main embassy gates.

In my view, the decisive role in normalizing the situation around the embassy, which remains calm today, the USSR ambassador said, was played by the appeal to Tehran by the Soviet leadership, which demanded that the Iranian side take immediate measures to protect the embassy and other Soviet institutions in Iran and to ensure that they function normally in accordance with the international norms of interstate contacts.

It is clear to every unprejudiced person that the USSR has nothing to do with the firing of missiles that is taking place. Our country has not supplied and is not supplying Iraq with missiles capable of reaching Tehran. It should be said that Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian Parliament, who spoke on Iranian television on the evening of 7 March, stated that the Iraqis were using small missiles whose range had been increased by decreasing several fold the weight of the warhead.

All the Soviet people are well; no one has been harmed.

'Disagreements' Surface in Afghan Rebel Alliance

LD091306 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Islamabad March 9 TASS—The disagreements and the struggle for power in the leadership of the alliance of seven opposition Afghan groups, which were concealed for a long time, have surfaced. This alliance began openly breaking out as soon as it was required to put forward its own constructive proposals, the Pakistani newspaper FRONTIER POST writes. It commented today [on] a report on the withdrawal from the alliance of Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, leader of the National Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan. In the obtained situation one can rather expect a final collapse of the alliance.

Najibullah Views Geneva Peace Talks

Message to UN

PM091259 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Across Countries and Continents": "In the Capacity of an Official Document"]

[Text] New York, 5 Mar—The message from Afghan President Najibullah to the UN secretary general dated 2 March 1988 has been circulated as an official UN General Assembly and UN Security Council document:

"I am sure that you are familiar with the contents of my statement and the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, of 8 February on the question of settling the situation around Afghanistan, which have been given a warm reception by the people of our own country and peace-loving forces throughout the world. These statements by the Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR are a positive response to the other side's latest condition concerning the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingent from Afghanistan.

"We have said that if the Geneva agreement is signed by 15 March, the withdrawal of the contingent will begin on 15 May and be completed within 10 months. If the agreement is signed earlier, the withdrawal of the contingent will also be brought forward. We have also agreed to a comparatively large part of the contingent being withdrawn in the first stage of the phased withdrawal, and we have not linked the start of the withdrawal to the formation of a coalition government.

"Since the publication of these statements, new events have taken place which are really a cause of serious concern to us and all peace-loving peoples throughout the world. Now, when all the conditions are there for a political settlement of the situation, the Pakistani authorities have rapidly departed from their previous

positions and are setting new conditions for the signing of the Geneva agreement. These circumstances must be seriously considered. The conditions they are proposing are concerned exclusively with Afghanistan's internal affairs and are in no way connected with the four documents of the Geneva agreement, which are concerned solely with resolving the external aspect of this problem.

"Now, after almost 6 years of talks on the documents comprising the Geneva agreement, work on which is virtually complete on the Afghan side, Pakistan has announced in a highly irresponsible fashion through the representative of the UN secretary general that it is not ready to sign the aforementioned agreement with the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, thereby breaching the most elementary principles of the universally accepted norms of interstate relations. Pakistan is bent on undermining the Afghan Government and insists on the formation of a so-called transitional government. There is no need to point out that Afghanistan's internal problems, on which we clearly stated our position a year ago, and, in particular, the composition of a coalition government, can only be discussed by Afghans themselves. The new condition being set by the Pakistani side for a settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan is intended to jeopardize the negotiation process, a consequence of which could only be a continuation of the war and the bloodshed.

"Having suffered enormous losses as a result of the almost 9-year war, the Afghan people are pinning great hopes on the successful outcome of the national reconciliation policy and the Geneva talks. The national reconciliation policy, which has opened up new horizons for the achievement of peace and national concord, is bearing new fruit every day. This policy has been responsible for setting targets and creating favorable conditions conducive to solving the problem in its domestic aspect and forming a coalition government. The signing of the Geneva agreement will put an end to all forms of outside interference in our country's affairs and create conditions conducive to the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the return of our refugees. We have done some serious work with regard to preparing for the next round in the Geneva talks and will spare no effort to demonstrate our good will. However, the other side must also display positive political will if this aim is to be achieved.

"On behalf of all of my country's people, I would like to ask you to use your great moral authority to ensure that Pakistan signs the Geneva documents, work on which is virtually complete. The Afghan people and government highly appraise Your Excellency's tireless, noble efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan and the region."

Desires 'Durable Peace'

LD091051 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 9 TASS—"New initiatives of the Afghan and Soviet leadership on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan are brought about by a sincere desire that durable peace be established all over Afghanistan", President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has said. "They create conditions for a successful completion of the Geneva talks".

Speaking here at a celebration meeting on the occasion of March 8, Najibullah pointed out that a successful completion of the Geneva talks was only half of what should be done. Security and national accord depend on joint efforts of all the Afghan people separated by a long undeclared war. Women can do a great deal to promote the attaining of those sacred goals, Najibullah said. Every Afghan mother should seek to educate her children in the spirit of internationalism and patriotism. The duty of Afghan women is to take an active part in the creation of free, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan whose economic and political life would comprise many political parties and many ways of life.

Part Two of Series on Dangers of Afghanistan

PM071945 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 3

[Part two of special correspondent Ye. Lesoto "Afghan Notebook" series: "Assignment To Cover the War"; for part one of the series, see the 2 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pages 28-31]

[Text] We Drive To Our Men [subhead]

"Is it far from here to the enemy?"

"200 meters in any direction."

(From a conversation with journalists at a unit headquarters).

We arrived at the headquarters of a unit which has won two medals. The first Order of the Red Banner was for Polotsk in the Great Patriotic War. The second is for Afghanistan.

In 1986 the unit was awarded the USSR Defense Minister's Pennant "For Bravery and Troop Prowess" in fulfilling Soviet Government assignments.

Several hundred men from the unit have joined the party this year.

The unit museum. In Afghanistan seven men have won the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Komsomol cards under glass: one charred, another with a bullet hole. Three cards in a row: a Komsomol crew.

We come across a sentry post—only a few men, all of different nationalities. The unit numbers 63 nationalities.

From the museum we walk out onto the parade ground. Low barricades made out of aerial bomb casings which they call "roosters." The standard visual agitation boards on the parade ground are full of holes like a sieve—the aftermath of strafing. Some 200 meters away is the "green zone"—where the dushmans are and where the bullets come from.

In the evenings you mustn't stop under the electric lights or a sniper might get you.

A VOKRUG SVETA [Around the world] journalist walked around in huge glasses. That's bad: Flashing glasses are a favorite target for snipers.

Natasha needs glasses but she doesn't wear them. The VOKRUG SVETA journalist refuses to take off his lenses.

We are put in a small hut called a "module." There are many such modules in the cantonment. Inside we have a kitchen with stove, a toilet, and rooms with closets and even armchairs. Complete comfort as long as you don't count the fact that the module could be ablaze in a few minutes and that we ourselves have to attend to "black-out" precautions—that is, put out the lights everywhere so a sniper can't get us through a window, and only leave the light on in the corridor and in the toilet where there are no windows. A soldier with a submachine gun specially posted there to guard us is on duty on the veranda of our module. There is a shelter not far away, but in the event of firing it is better not to run anywhere, but to lie down on the floor and cover your head. This is comfort.

At nights the women in our group take a long time to disperse to our rooms. We sit in the dark kitchen hidden from the snipers and drink interminable cups of hot tea. We are wearing pea jackets, but we shiver inside.

Once again I repeat: There is no rear in Afghanistan, the front line is everywhere. Each troop subunit has its own so-called zone of responsibility. It is responsible for ensuring that dushmans do not come into its zone, caravans do not infiltrate, and small groups of dushmans lurking underground do not sneak out to attack. The main responsibility is for the roads and ravines where the dushmans come down from the mountains, and also for administrative posts.

What is meant by small groups of dushmans? The Charikar "Green Zone" runs from Bagram—that is, it is a zone of neglected vineyards and minefields with "kirizy" (a ramified system of irrigation tunnels) running under them. It is impossible to live in the irrigation tunnels: It is cold and damp, but you can hide from bombing and conduct small-scale combat operations from there.

There are 320 dushman groupings operating in the Charikar "Green Zone." And 20 of them are now "under contract," that is, we have come to an agreement with them: They don't bother us and we don't bother them. The others are waging a holy war which must last until victory or until the last drop of blood.

The remnants of the peaceful population who have still not fled somehow manage to live there. The peasants graze animals, sow crops, and gather in harvest. Three-four villages are left along the Bagram-Kabul Highway out of 50-60. The rest have been destroyed and burned. A little further back from the roads, life somehow limps on.

Just as there are contracted gangs, so too are there contracted villages. As village elder you will not permit a gang to operate on your village's territory against the legal authorities, nor will you permit peasants to take up weapons against them in the evening; this is your zone of responsibility, and therefore your village is not fired upon and is given whatever help possible: You are given kerosene and soap and other things. Sometimes the villages keep their word and sometimes they cheat (for instance, the pilot who was shot down by a "Stinger" was hacked to pieces in just such a contracted village).

Everyone saw the aircraft burning and falling in the night sky and five parachutes open. A group of rescuers saved all five with covering fire from our helicopters. They moved toward the aircraft but couldn't get through.

They postponed the operation until morning. In the morning the aircraft was found near the contracted village. The population came out beyond the barricades and watched the Soviets' behavior.

The Soviets found the remains of their comrade.

Was he alive then? Yes. He had been shot with colored flares from a signal pistol; the cases had been left behind.

If he had not put the plane into a climb after the "Stinger" hit, the entire crew would have perished. He was a first-class pilot. He gave everyone else time and altitude; he was the only one who did not have enough of either. However he also jumped: His open parachute was lying next to him, but no one had seen it; he had jumped almost at ground level.

We walked up to him cautiously: The dushmans have a habit of putting grenades under the armpits of their victims and shoving mines in their boots.

I did not know before that there are different kinds of death. Death is death. You can't die two deaths, but you can't avoid one. This is what I thought before. It was only here that I realized that there are different kinds of death.

I learned a way to tell whether we are doing the firing or being fired at—if the earth shakes we are being fired at, and you have to lie down and cover your head. You don't have to do anything else. If the earth doesn't shake then we are doing the firing.

So each subunit has its own zone of responsibility. For example, a dug in subunit called "inflexible" is responsible for a gorge. Once a week a food convoy comes through there.

There are places where you can tell the time by the helicopters:

"Two helicopters ago..."

The conditions are very difficult. It is especially important to pass on your experience to the man who is replacing you if you have already done your stint.

I spoke with a prominent military man in Kabul:

"Why," I said, "is there no wise veteran general in places like this? Where is one-eyed Kutuzov? Where are the wise old hands who would prevent the same mistakes being repeated and who would not permit any unnecessary risk, foolhardiness, puerility, or unnecessarily risky trips and flights? Why are people taken to meetings by helicopter? Why not have meetings here? It's an unnecessary risk!"

He agreed with me. When he arrived in Afghanistan for the first time he was immediately struck by the following: There are almost no veterans now. Young people are fighting and as a result there is indeed also unwarranted risk which older men would not permit, unseriousness, and simple inexperience, which is unavoidable when you are young.

This is all true. But there is also another factor. For example, a young officer who can be considered a diplomatic genius is serving at the furthest, remotest outpost. Holder of the Order of the Red Star Captain Aleksandr Denchik, commander of a motorized infantry company. He used his generator to bring light to a village. The agreement is as follows: I give you light, and you don't let the dushmans play dirty tricks on me in your zone of responsibility.

The result is that the outpost has not been fired on once from the village's zone of responsibility and the villagers bring eggs and sour milk to the outpost.

When something happened to the generator and the light went out the inhabitants came with guilty expressions:

"What have we done wrong, commander?"

This natural diplomat should be sent for international work and certain professional diplomats should be sent here to work.

I will report in passing that two Soviet craftsmen who were working in Afghanistan drilling waterholes have been proclaimed saints.

Of course this is by no means all dependent on diplomatic ability alone; it also depends on the way many situations have developed and on who you are trying try to reach an agreement with.

Lieutenant Eidar Agayev, commander of an outpost, for instance, is also within 200 meters of dushmans. There are three settlements in the vicinity where three enemy detachments are active. One detachment has an agreement with him.

The other two ringleaders refuse to enter into negotiations. Eldar explains that they are motivated not only by hatred but also by material advantage: It pays the dushmans to fight. A Soviet officer's head is worth 300,000 afghani (the precise price varies depending on the rank) and the harvest from the average peasant holding is worth 50,000 afghani, which you cannot live on.

There is a memorial at Eldar Agayev's outpost to his predecessor, Lieutenant Rufat Mamedov, who was shot right through the heart by an enemy sniper. The soldiers obtained a granite plaque and engraved their commander's surname, name, and date of birth and death. Thus there is a memorial to Soviet internationalist soldier Rufat Mamedov from Baku at an outpost in the middle of Afghanistan.

An outpost is a patch of our land with trenches, a shelter, a dugout, and a bath.

There are two joys in Afghanistan:

A letter and a bath.

An outpost can also be an infantry combat vehicle in a hollow.

I visited one such outpost. Company Commander Senior Lieutenant V. Mironov points into the distance:

"See that hummock in the distance? That's the advance post. You don't walk around there like you do at the outpost. There you wear bulletproof vests and helmets. In summer? In summer too."

The advance post is the furthest point; there's nowhere else to go. This outpost has two advance posts. It is like the palm of a hand with outstretched fingers. The fingertips are the advance posts.

There are no major battles in this war like there were in the Great Patriotic War. What you get here are tactical battles. Therefore junior officers have a very great role. The commander of a platoon, a company, or a battalion makes decisions and assumes all the responsibility.

Our outpost is considered peaceful. It last came under serious fire in August, and small-scale shooting doesn't count. Other outposts come under heavy fire two or three times a week. You simply can't get through to those places in an armored personnel carrier, only by helicopter.

How did we travel to this "peaceful" outpost?

We were given a choice: either inside an armored personnel carrier or on top. If we're blown up by a mine, we have a greater chance of survival on top: The shock wave throws you to one side. Maybe 20 meters into the "green zone." That is, maybe, toward the dushmans.

I traveled in the belly of an armored personnel carrier, sitting cross-legged with arms folded: If death came it would be instantaneous and if there was an explosion the whole thing would go up. One thing I don't need is the chance of being thrown to the dushmans—I couldn't get away, shoot anyone, or even put a bullet through my head.

The male journalists traveled on top. They are much more self-confident, but then they at least have some knowledge of how to shoot. They are forever approaching the military and asking to be allowed to have a shot, especially the KRYMSKIY KOMSOMOLETS journalist. He was given permission at the "peaceful" outpost and he fired some weapon, but the bullets flew in our direction.

A Ukrainian television journalist returned from one difficult trip which only the men went on with a burned arm: Again they asked the military to let them have a shot with something. I do not approve.

...We return from the outpost. Smashed villages and yellow clay around. Inside the armored personnel carrier through a spyhole you can see many, many fragments and pieces of warped metal scattered on the ground.

We are already approaching a military cantonment. I can see a fence and supports of some kind. Thank heaven, they're ours! Only a stone's throw from here to our modules.

Former Afghan Rebel Describes Conversion
PM080923 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
28 Feb 88 First Edition p 5

[NOVOSTI correspondent B. Gan dispatch: "'The People's Desire for Peace Cannot Be Halted.' A Former 'Intransigent' Gives an Interview"]

[Text] Kabul—Less than a month ago, a large Hezb-e Eslami gang commanded by Ubaydullah Khan came over to the side of the state, the NOVOSTI correspondent in Kabul reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. I first heard of this dushman leader during a recent trip to the southern Afghan province of Qandahar. Mawlawi Ghulam Muhammad Fakiri, chairman of the provincial national reconciliation commission, told me that Ubaydullah Khan's bandit formation wholly controlled the vast Kajaki region between Qandahar and Helmand provinces. For many months Ubaydullah Khan had categorically rejected all proposals for talks. At the end of last year he nonetheless suspended armed hostilities, but stated that he had no plans to come over to the side of the state and would maintain a kind of "neutrality." Why did the former "intransigent" change his decision? Ubaydullah Khan came to Kabul for a few days and I had an opportunity to ask him this question.

My detachment numbered 2,100 people, 600 of them armed. The rest were a kind of reserve, since we suffered large losses, the 30-year-old Ubaydullah Khan began. We controlled a large area, comprising 60 villages. This amounted to around 50,000 people.

I will not discuss how we fought, Ubaydullah Khan continued. But we could not fail to see that, despite the fierce resistance of the "intransigents"—among whom we counted ourselves—national reconciliation was gradually gaining momentum. More and more armed formations of "mujahidin" belonging to different parties of the "alliance of the seven" have been coming over and are continuing to come over to the side of the state. This is happening despite the strictest bans. I started reviewing my attitude to the national reconciliation policy after President Najibullah announced the political decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan at the Loya Jirgah in late November of 1987. I also recognized that the Loya Jirgah, which enjoys high prestige with every real Afghan, had adopted a constitution which not only enshrined the right to private ownership but reaffirmed the right to the creation of political parties. The constitution has also declared Islam to be our country's state religion. I, as an educated man (I was at college for 12 years), could not fail to realize that the PDPA is really striving to find a way out of a complex situation.

But it is one thing to arrive at that conclusion yourself, and quite another to convince people with whom you have shared all the difficulties of a partisan war that the time has come to revise their "intransigent" stance. But I succeeded nonetheless. My subordinate armed group commanders started a dialogue with the Qandahar National Reconciliation Commission. We initially adopted a wait-and-see approach at these talks. But later, convinced of the sincerity of our partners in the talks, we decided to conclude an agreement on ending hostilities. The state, for its part, allowed us to establish the systems we want in our area. And after the state had carried out its promise, including giving economic assistance to the population of the 60 villages, we finally decided to subscribe to the national reconciliation policy. We signed an agreement and now our area has been excluded from the zone of hostilities in Qandahar Province.

I know that our decision has angered the leaders of the "alliance of seven Islamic parties." But I am convinced that we have done the right thing. The leaders of the "alliance" have been severely chastising us for coming over to side with the state. Hajji Sultan Muhammad, governor of Baghlan Province, was recently killed in Baghlan. He and his detachment had accepted the national reconciliation policy. Khan Kakuzay was killed in Qandahar Province a few weeks ago. Last fall he broke away from Pakistan and from the fighting, returned to his village, and stated his support for national reconciliation. But terror is incapable of halting the desire of all the people for peace, particularly now that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

Syria's Khaddam Praises Relations

LD082252 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Damascus March 8 TASS—"Relations between Syria and the USSR have been developing uphill, for the benefit of both nations during the quarter of century following the March 8, 1963, revolution. We will strengthen and develop antiimperialist struggle also in the future," Syria's Vice President has said.

In an interview to the newspaper AL-THAWRAH, 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam praised the Soviet Union's policy aimed at building a new world without nuclear weapons and based on relaxation of tensions and peaceful coexistence.

Dwelling on the situation in the region, Khaddam said that Washington's latest steps in the Middle East had indicated no changes in the old policy hinged on stronger U.S.-Israeli relations.

The Syrian vice president reiterated his country's conviction that there [words indistinct] for establishing peace in the region: A complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories and guarantees of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

A settlement must be attained through an international Middle East conference under the United Nations aegis and with all the interested countries taking part.

The conference must be effective and authoritative, the Syrian vice president noted, rather than serve a cover for the so-called direct talks and separate deals.

Further on Gorbachev Message to Syria's Al-Asad

PM081624 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev to Syrian President al-Asad]

[Text] To Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Esteemed Comrade al-Asad!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet people and on my own account I send to you, to the members of the Ba'th Party, and to all the Syrian people cordial congratulations on the 25th anniversary of the 8 March revolution.

That event was a remarkable milestone in the history of modern Syria. It opened the way to the consolidation of its independence and progressive development and laid the foundations for major socioeconomic transformations in your country. In the last quarter of a century the Syrian people, under the leadership of the Ba'th Party, have achieved marked successes in economic building and in the development of culture, education, and health care. These successes had to be won in a difficult struggle, in the conditions of continuing pressure from the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The principled foreign policy course of the Syrian Arab Republic, which makes a weighty contribution to the struggle for peace and international security, freedom, and social progress for the peoples, has earned well deserved prestige in the international arena. For many years Syria has courageously opposed aggression, upholding the Arabs' just cause and coming out against attempts to substitute separate deals, which are contrary to the vital interests of the region's peoples, for a truly all-embracing settlement in the Near East.

People in the Soviet Union note with profound satisfaction the high level of multifaceted Soviet-Syrian relations, which are developing successfully and fruitfully on the firm basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation. These relations, which have withstood the test of time, meet the interests of our peoples and have become an important factor in modern international life.

At the present crucial stage in mankind's development, when the question of our survival is being resolved, increasing significance is attached to active cooperation among all peace-loving countries and peoples. We value highly the collaboration that takes place successfully between the Soviet Union and Syria in the resolution of the cardinal problems of today, and in the struggle to eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe and create a comprehensive system of international security and unblock regional conflicts. Particular importance is attached to the coordination of our countries' efforts in the cause of a Near East settlement, which, experience shows, is only possible through the convocation of a corresponding international conference.

While congratulating the Syrian people on the great holiday, I would like once again to reaffirm the unchanging feelings of sympathy and respect which Soviet people entertain toward friendly Syria and our support for its struggle for independent progressive development. The

Soviet Union will continue to do everything necessary to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation that link our countries, parties, and peoples.

I wish good health and happiness to you, Comrade al-Asad, and prosperity and progress to the friendly Syrian people.

M. Gorbachev.

Delegation Meets Syrian Ba'th Officials

PM081449 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] Damascus, 29 Feb—The visit by a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by M.Kh. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, which was here at the invitation of the Ba'th Party in accordance with the program for interparty exchange, has ended. During their stay in Syria the delegation members were received by 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant general secretary of the Ba'th Party, Wahid Tannus, member of the Ba'th Party Regional Command, and Haytham Duwaykhi, chairman of the National Union of Syrian Students, and also met with the leadership of Damascus and Aleppo Universities.

The guests described the results of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum's work.

The Soviet party delegation returned home today.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Envoy, Gorbachev Message

PM091305 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report: "Guests in Libya"]

[Text] Tripoli, 2 Mar—On Tuesday M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, received M.D. Sytenko, the Soviet leadership's special envoy, who gave him a verbal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, concerning Afghanistan. There followed a detailed conversation in the course of which the sides discussed various aspects of the Afghan problem.

M. al-Qadhdhafi welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan and expressed his support for the Soviet Union's efforts to solve this problem, which has dragged on for so long.

The Libyan leader said that, for its part, Libya will do its utmost to contribute to the successful conclusion of the process to settle the Afghan problem, achieve national reconciliation, and establish a just peace in Afghanistan on the basis of all the interested parties' interests.

P.S. Akopov, Soviet ambassador to Libya, took part in the conversation.

On 1 March the Soviet delegation here led by B. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited the home of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, which came under attack from American aircraft in April 1986.

In the book for honored guests, the head of the Soviet delegation pointed out that all Soviet people were outraged by the United States' act of state terrorism—its barbaric bomb attack on the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. M. al-Qadhdhafi's half-destroyed home is evidence that one of the main aims of the aggression was the physical elimination of the Libyan leader. The Soviet people, the head of the delegation stressed, stand firmly on the side of the Libyan people, who are defending their freedom and independence in the struggle against the machinations of imperialism and reaction.

DFLP's Hawatimah Interviewed on Uprising

PM070841 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by V. Peresada: "Palestinians' Uprising"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The PRAVDA editorial office receives numerous letters asking us to tell in more detail what is happening in the Israeli-occupied Arab lands. We fulfill the readers' request.

Question: The Palestinians' uprising on the Israeli-occupied lands began almost 3 months ago. What is the situation there now?

Answer: The demonstrations against the aggressors are not abating. Recently the uprising's united national leadership issued an appeal in which it called upon the population of the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem to hold a new series of demonstrations, rallies, and strikes before the end of February. To reinforce the struggle, the 19th anniversary of the formation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] was celebrated this week. Protest demonstrations are now taking place in connection with the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz—one of the leaders of the country which is encouraging Tel Aviv's aggressive course—in the Near East.

Question: The whole world is stunned by the brutality of Israel's "retaliatory measures." In your opinion, can repressive actions "quell" the uprising?

Answer: The occupying authorities' reprisals against Palestinian patriots have always been brutal. But they have become particularly unbridled now, as people in Tel Aviv are frightened by the scale of the uprising and

are endeavoring to suppress it by every means. Downright combat operations are being carried out using tanks, helicopters, poison gas, and tear gas. People, including children, are being killed, beaten, tortured, and starved. Elementary human rights are being flouted. Current reality on the occupied territories confirms particularly obviously the correctness of the international community's definitions of the Israeli rulers' ideology and practices contained in UN decisions and other documents: "Zionism is racism" and "Israeli repressions are crimes against humanity."

With every passing day the occupiers step up the terror. Since the uprising began, more than 120 Palestinians have perished and more than 3,000 have been wounded, 1,000 seriously. Approximately 30,000 people have passed through Israeli jails and 7,000 Palestinians are now under arrest.

However, despite the reprisals, the uprising will continue and will gain particular scope when the entire Palestinian people celebrate "Land Day"—an annual event symbolizing our struggle for the return of the territories which have been captured by the aggressor.

Question: What are the aims of the uprising?

Answer: It has above all one main political purpose—to put an end to the occupation and guarantee the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state.

In addition, the uprising has a series of tactical tasks, the resolution of which would help to achieve the main aim. They are as follows. First, the abrogation of the draconian emergency laws dating from the times of British colonial rule in Palestine, which have been retained to this day by the Israeli authorities on the occupied territories; second, the implementation there of the Geneva Convention regarding protection of the civilian population in wartime; third, the abolition of the municipal councils appointed by the occupiers and the holding of new elections in all cities and villages with a view to creating truly national organs of local power; fourth, an end to the construction of Israeli settlements and the abolition of those which have already been set up; fifth, the abrogation of the extortionate tax system, which is ruining people and inducing them to emigrate; sixth, an end to the occupying authorities' interference in the affairs of the Palestinian population's professional and other associations.

Question: How coordinated are the mass demonstrations by Palestinian inhabitants?

Answer: The uprising is organized. It is the natural result of the stubborn people's struggle which has been organized for decades by the PLO. Claims by Western and Israeli propaganda that the uprising is spontaneous have been refuted by the fact that it has been gathering momentum for 3 months. It is led by the united national leadership, which includes various PLO detachments and also prominent Palestinian public figures. The appeals put out by the leadership reflect both the PLO's political line and its slogans. As for attempts to represent Islamic fundamentalists as standing behind the present demonstrations, I regard them as an endeavor to intimidate public opinion in Western countries and certain Arab governments and thus alienate them from solidarity with the uprising.

There is something else that I would like to point out. The people's demonstrations are mounted daily throughout all the occupied territories. In the course of the struggle, organs to lead the uprising have even been created in the smallest city blocks, villages, and camps. We are confident that the Israeli goons armed with U.S. tanks will not succeed in destroying the organized rebel ranks.

Question: The events on the Israeli-occupied lands have posed with new force the question of the need for an urgent Near East settlement. What do you consider the main thing in this connection?

Answer: International efforts must be mobilized for the uprising to be successful, for the aims facing the Palestinian people to be secured, and for a reliable settlement in the Near East to be achieved. There is a way to achieve such a settlement—it is the convocation of a representative plenipotentiary conference under UN auspices, involving Security Council permanent members and all interested parties in the region, including, without fail, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative as an independent participant.

We note with great satisfaction that the Soviet Union, which is taking more and more steps with a view to finding a just settlement of the conflict and above all of its key problem—the Palestinian problem—holds the same position on this question. This is illustrated by the USSR's recent proposal to urgently prepare to start up the international conference mechanism and initiate appropriate consultations between Security Council members.

Question: How do you rate the "new U.S. Near East initiative" which emerged recently?

Answer: This is no more than a "new old plan," an attempt to revive the notorious policy of separate deals between Israel and individual Arab participants in the conflict. It proposes, in particular, to hold a "multilateral meeting under international auspices," which would sanction so-called piecemeal solutions to the detriment of an all-embracing settlement. A proper international conference continues to be ignored, the PLO is denied the right to be an independent participant in the talks, and there is no question of the creation of an independent Palestinian state. You can only have one attitude to such an initiative—a negative one.

Question: At the height of the uprising, Egypt also put forward proposals for a settlement. What can you say about them?

Answer: The Arab countries have a concerted platform for actions—the plan elaborated several years ago at the Fes Conference, the decisions of the Amman summit meeting held in 1987, and, finally, the decisions of the session of the Arab League foreign ministers, adopted one month ago. All these documer enshrine the course of the struggle for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem and the Near East conflict on the whole.

As for the Egyptian proposals, this is an initiative from Cairo itself. No Arab state has agreed with it and it has been completely rejected by the PLO. Why? Suffice it to say this. The first point of the "Cairo plan" provides for an end to all violence on the occupied territories. Thus those who are struggling for their rights are put on a level with those who are suppressing their struggle. It is no coincidence that people in Israel and the United States have jumped at this point since they saw in it an opportunity to lessen the pitch of the Palestinians' uprising.

I repeat that all-Arab decisions exist. The main thing is that they be effectively implemented in practice. Arab countries have great weight to put pressure on Western countries, including the United States, to secure the establishment of a lasting peace in the Near East. Abandoning these solutions and the principles of an all-embracing settlement will inevitably lead to deadlock, as has already been demonstrated by the sad experience of the Camp David agreements. Only collective efforts within the framework of an international conference can open the way for the elimination of the lingering conflict in the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Coup Attempt Thwarted in Sao Tome

LD091059 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Luanda March 9 TASS—The army and security forces of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe have aborted an outside coup d'etat attempt.

In the early hours of Tuesday, an armed group landed from an unidentified ship near Sao Tome, the capital of the republic, reports from this small island state off Western Africa say. The commandos attacked a police barrack but incurred a decisive rebuff. Two attackers were killed in the exchange of fire.

Manuel Pinto De Costa, president of the republic, announced on national radio Tuesday that 43 participants in the anti-government action were seized. He called the population for calmness and vigilance. The head of state blamed the Sao Tome and Principle National Resistance Front, an opposition organisation, for the attack. This notorious front is known for its ties with the Angolan bandit group UNITA which is on the payroll of the U.S. CIA and secret services of racist South Africa. In Sao Tome attention is called to the fact that the coup attempt was staged from foreign land.

The government controls the situation in the country now. The airport, electric power station, national radio and other strategic facilities are patrolled by troops. No curfew was imposed.

South Africa Escalates Fighting in South Angola

LD041015 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Unable to get anywhere near the heart of Angola, the South Africa aggressor army has been escalating hostilities in the south of that country, the Soviet national daily PRAVDA said in a report from a combat area there.

"Fighting has continued here, in the vicinities of the town of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, for more than six months. Angolan Army positions have been shelled almost daily and occasionally bombed by South African fighter-bombers Mirages, Buccaneers and Impalas," the dispatch said.

The aggression has demonstrated "South Africa's inflexible imperial approach to the most complex problems of that part of the continent and its belief in the possibility to solve them with an iron fist and to topple and implant regimes as it sees fit", PRAVDA continued.

Pretoria's plans, however, had run smack into "hitch", the paper said, explaining: "This tiny town in the Angolan savanna has risen like an impregnable fortress in the way of an army boasting to be the strongest in the continent. The aggressor's losses run into hundreds of men killed and wounded and dozens of planes shot down."

The defense of Cuito Cuanavale, according to PRAVDA, is the largest battle between Angola and South African forces since 1975 when Pretoria hurled a big mechanized unit against Luanda for the first time in a bid to install UNITA in power.

It was then that the government formed by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] asked Cuba to send in troops as a way of help. The aggressor was thrown out.

"Such raids against Luanda today are inconceivable: the power of the national army has grown and the central areas are well protected by Angola and Cuban Army garrisons and air defences. This is why a different tactic has been chosen, that of gradually broadening bridgeheads in the south," PRAVDA said.

"Soviet reporters were told that the situation over the past fifty days has become extremely tense. All indications are that the command of the South African intrusion force, which is based in Mavinga, is preparing another major offensive.

"It was pointed out that units in the area are commanded not only by South African officers, but also by Portuguese ones, from the former secret police. One of them is Brigadier-General Ferreira and another is Lieutenant-Colonel Magallanes. Both are acting as mercenaries," PRAVDA said.

It quoted provincial Commissioner Colonel Manuel Francisco Tuta, a member of the Central Committee of the MPLA Workers Party, as saying:

"There are four South African Army battalions operating against us. They have now pulled some 20 and 30 kilometers back from Cuito Cuanavale and are re-grouping.

"The Angolan people and their armed forces are issuing the aggressor a befitting rebuff. The only thing the enemy will be able to get is further losses. It will not gain its desired ends.

"The apartheid regime should finally realize that it will not be able to establish a system suiting it in Angola. FAPLA (the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola), will continue to thwart the enemy's plans, be it a Cuito Cuanavale or anywhere else."

Western, Soviet Views on South Africa Examined

LD071429 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Follows commentary by Sergey Kulik, a TASS political news analyst:

The statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry on the decision of the racist Pretoria authorities to ban the political activities of a number of mass democratic organizations has again riveted world public attention to the flagrant violations of human rights in the RSA, which is quite often described as a "component part" of the Western world. Simultaneously with that ban, the South African parliament announced its decision to take measures so as to put an end to the aid coming from abroad to the anti-racist organizations. Foreign public is known to collect regularly quite big sums of money designed for support for the victims of racist terror and turn them over to the patriots.

Have these actions by Pretoria prompted some of the Western "human rights zealots" to end their financial assistance to the apartheid regime or introduce economic sanctions against Pretoria? This has not happened. They in Washington confined themselves to an expression of "dissatisfaction" with the actions of the white minority government. President Reagan was in a hurry to declare that the United States would not assist the forces fighting against apartheid.

In general a new, in my view, and a highly dangerous tendency has manifested itself in the statements by the U.S. President on the situation in the South African region. Speaking on the eve of the adoption by Pretoria of the decision banning opposition, Reagan unexpectedly to all tried to explain what is happening in South Africa is not a racial, but a tribal conflict. In other words, if one is to believe him, the bloody events in the RSA have been triggered not by the policy of the white racists depriving the black majority of the basic human rights, but a clash between African tribes.

Yet in the RSA itself and outside it, the reaction of the Africans to the arbitrary rule of the racist authorities has been quite clear. Our people have received the government's new measures as a war declared on the people, said Nobel prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The ANC leadership said that Pretoria's terrorist measures against black African opposition have left for the African majority no choice but to step up the armed struggle. The voice of the organization of African unity has again sounded loud and clear. The policy of intimidation, repressions and open violence pursued vis-a-vis the black African population of the RSA is evidence of the total failure of the racist regimes policy on the issue of observance of the basic human rights, the OAU said. The Organization of African Unity will further support the armed liberation struggle by the peoples of South Africa.

The Soviet Union's stand is fully consonant with independent Africa's will. The fresh undemocratic move by the racist regime shall not be allowed to remain unpunished again, says the statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry. The escalation of the apartheid policy is a source of indignation for the Soviet people. The continuing repressions are conducive to a further build up of tensions and violeance in the RSA, further instability and a sharpening of the situation all over the region, which is through pretoria's fault one of the world's hot spots. All that cannot but be a source of serious concern for Moscow.

The USSR is prepared to cooperate with all who prize the lofty principles of the U.N., the ideals of freedom and equality. The time is ripe for actions, and resolute ones too in order to eradicate apartheid, eliminate the conflict situation in southern Africa.

It is high time for the Pretoria authorities to realise that South Africa's future will be ensured not through a suppression of the struggle waged by its people against the apartheid system, but through an end to repressions, and transition to the positions of new thinking which

would make it possible to end the disgrace of racism, to pool the efforts of all the South Africans in the interests of building a united, democratic state.

East Europe

Shevardnadze Receives SFRY Ambassador Veres

LD051505 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 March (TANJUG)—Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, today received Milan Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

During their meeting, held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, some issues of Yugoslav-Soviet relations were discussed linked with the forthcoming official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Views on topical international issues were also exchanged during the meeting. It was stressed in particular that the meeting of the Balkan countries foreign ministers represented a significant event of European and international politics, and that it will contribute to the development of good-neighborly and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

Restructuring Impetus to SFRY Trade Relations

LD081531 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 8 TASS—TASS Correspondent Yuriy Malinov reports:

The dynamic and progressive development and mutual efforts of the two sides to enrich cooperation with qualitatively new forms and content are characteristic of Soviet-Yugoslav relations in the economy. This opinion was expressed by Stevan Vukajlovic, section head on development of cooperation with the USSR of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, in an interview with TASS.

"The Soviet Union," he said, "is the biggest foreign trade partner of Yugoslavia." In 1981-1985 the trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reached 32 billion dollars. In the current five-year plan period provision is made for boosting it to 37 billion dollars. Trade relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR qualitatively differ from its trade with the capitalist countries. Supplies under concluded agreements give a chance to lessen the negative influence of the situation in the world market on the Yugoslav economy.

"Restructuring in foreign trade conducted by the Soviet Union," noted S. Vukajlovic, "will undoubtedly give a positive impetus to the development of trade and economic relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia. Therefore, a search for new forms of cooperation, including establishment of joint ventures and increased coproduction and specialization, should be the top priority task for the two countries.

This viewpoint is shared by Anton Krasovec, deputy chairman of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy. "The foreign trade exchange accounts for a considerable share of economic relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia, he told TASS. However, traditional forms of cooperation are gradually exhausting themselves. The question of developing such high forms of interaction as establishment of joint Soviet-Yugoslav ventures, development of direct production contacts and implementation of joint investments is becoming increasingly topical. Now the sides are examining proposals on joint projects in industrial cooperation and specialization. Changes taking place in the Soviet economy, for instance higher independence of enterprises, transition to economic criteria of economic management, open new prospects for fruitful development of cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia in the trade and economic sphere.

LCY's Krunic on Necessity of Upcoming Conference

PM081629 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar—The LCY conference must mark a decisive shift in work on fulfilling the 13th party congress decisions and on implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization, Bosko Krunic, LCY Central Committee Presidium president, declared at an LCY Central Committee plenum held here. The plenum resolved to hold the LCY conference in May and entrusted the LCY Central Committee Presidium with setting the exact date for convening that forum. The plenum participants examined the draft theses for the upcoming conference and also examined questions on the role and the work substance and methods of the party's leading organs and the LCY's social class structure.

B. Krunic said that the draft theses, which are being submitted for discussion by primary party organizations, set out an assessment of the situation in the League of Communists and in society, indicate the reasons for convening this forum, and outline ways to strengthen the LCY's unity, democratize internal party life, and step up personal and collective responsibility for the fulfillment of adopted decisions. This document is designed to activate the work of party organizations and is aimed at overcoming existing problems. Clearly, what has already been spoken of at the 13th LCY Congress must not be repeated during the preparations for the conference, and this forum must be a turning point in the party's activity. The present time demands of us greater self-criticism, and therefore the conference is necessary right now, B. Krunic pointed out.

Solomentsev Sees Nikonov Off for Sofia
LD090942 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Comrade Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, left Moscow for Sofia today on a working visit at the BCP Central Committee's invitation.

Comrade Solomentsev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee chairman, and other officials saw him off at the airport.

NOVOSTI Official on Restructuring
AU081345 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Mar 88 pp 1,6

[Interview with Vladimir Milyutenko, NOVOSTI deputy chairman, by Nikolina Sevdanova: "Restructuring in the First Person" in Moscow, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Sevdanova] I would like to begin with a brief introduction on Vladimir Borisovich Milyutenko, NOVOSTI deputy chairman whom I interviewed. It is absolutely justified to describe him as a member of the strong phalanx of Soviet experts on Bulgaria, not only because he accomplished one of his post-graduate studies in our High Party School, and not only because of his excellent knowledge of Bulgarian history, of the revolutionary movement, and of contemporary life in our country, but also because of his preference for everything Bulgarian, and because of his interest in the restructuring processes taking place in our country. As an internationalist in the true sense of the word, Vladimir Milyutenko, a first class journalist, has been working for several years as a Soviet correspondent abroad, both in the East and the West, throughout Europe. [passage omitted].

[Sevdanova] What about the impact of restructuring processes in cultural life? What about this impact in artistic, creative work, and in the classification of intellectual values in society?

[Milyutenko] In my opinion, we are now talking about a second wind in restructuring, toward which we are now striving in our cultural, artistic, and journalistic efforts.

[Sevdanova] Why do you call it a "second wind"?

[Milyutenko] Because we have already reached an exceptionally important stage, which requires a sharp view on part of journalists, writers, and cultural leaders. They should profoundly, and not superficially, analyze the processes of the last 2 years, in all their subtlety. In searching for the truth and for sincerity in all spheres of restructuring, we discovered shortcomings, which until recently were passed over in silence. We met clannish attitudes in the circles of writers, cinematography workers, and artists, as well as among the scientists. We understood true democracy requires a totally different standard of political culture. It encompasses the culture of conducting disputes, of manifesting tolerance for different opinions. Today there are no forbidden subjects, nor secret spheres, either for journalists or for cultural workers. The path is open for any kind of research and analysis and this pertains to the reassessment of our history. You can call it pluralism of opinions, if you wish. We are actually building up our own socialist pluralism. We are going even further. In our opinion, the experiment of applying the election principle to leaders of cultural institutions and creative unions appears very promising. A democratization process is taking place in our mass media, as well. Competitive television programs have appeared. Direct telephone connections in the newspapers have become immensely popular. These connections, actually, mean direct interviews with leading figures in all spheres of life on subjects which were considered awkward in the past.

[Sevdanova] Could you describe some of the innovations in NOVOSTI?

[Milyutenko] Restructuring in our news agency means searching for and discovering the most efficient methods of providing information to satisfy the tremendous interest shown throughout the world in life in our country. In the past we had to search for foreign newspapers and magazines willing to publish materials about the Soviet Union. Today we are observing the opposite phenomenon—materials about the Soviet Union are in great demand—and we often cannot manage to provide them soon enough. Our news agency has 9,000 partners today in all parts of the globe. In 1987 we hosted an exceptionally great number of foreign journalists, over 3,500 as a matter of fact. We helped them organize special programs of their own choice and at their own proposal. Restructuring has enabled us to carry out projects we could only dream about in the past. In the first place I would like to point out the book: "One Day in the Soviet Union." This is a collection of works of the world's best photo-reporters. The book is one of the 10 bestsellers in the United States and "Collins" the publishers has ordered a print run of 2 million copies. I would like to point out, among other things, that despite the very strict international, anonymous competition, photographers from the socialist countries, including Ivo Khadzhimishev from Bulgaria, are very well represented in this volume. Another remarkable book—by the FRG journalist Lois Fisher, entitled "Nadyezhda Means Hope"—is also among the dozen most beautiful, contemporary journalistic works about the Soviet Union in the FRG. Over 1 million copies of this book have been sold. This confirms the enormous interest in the life of Soviet people today and the interest in the innovative processes of our society, as well as in our country's peace-loving policy.

Naturally, in our century we cannot and should not work at the same pace as in the past. The introduction of electronic equipment and the establishment of a data

bank, as well as increasing mobility, are therefore questions affecting both the creative and organizational aspects of our work. We hope that in 1988 our editorial board will present its first production series of video information. The goal we are striving for is to make this an essential part of our work, so that we can help to co-produce projects with foreign television companies and independent producers of cable satellite television stations.

[Sevdanova] What about the further of development NOVOSTI's relations with socialist countries and their press?

[Milyutenko] This is a sphere in which the spirit of our time requires innovation in the area of mutual relations. We think we should increasingly come to exchange opinions as friends in the language of sincerity and truth only, that we should extend the geographical scope of our travels, but that we should also intensify our awareness of processes from which we can acquire great mutual experience and further knowledge about our countries and peoples. It is very important to expand our mutual acquaintance from the very first experiments of joint enterprises and to create opportunities for books and other journalistic material to be simultaneously written by two journalists, for photographic materials by reporters from two different countries, and so forth. This applies, in particular, to areas where joint enterprises of two socialist countries are operating.

[Sevdanova] In the fields of culture, literature, and arts, numerous powerful works are appearing, works which deeply impress and even shake people. Works which had to wait a long time for glasnost are being published today. This is evident. There are territories, however, where transparency is not so clearly defined. This applies to schools, for example. What is happening in your schools; is the spirit of restructuring being reflected in teaching methods and textbooks?

[Milyutenko] In my opinion, we can be fully satisfied with the present state of our cultural life and arts, because it seems that to this day restructuring has manifested itself mainly in the publication of works which are appearing after having been withheld for long period. This is an achievement that should not be underestimated. On the contrary: It speaks for an era of tremendous change regarding numerous concepts of intellectual values, regarding their historical and artistic value in Soviet cultural life. Literary works are about to be published which we could never have imagined would ever be accessible to our readers. Some of them are published for the first time, others are reemerging after a long period of oblivion. Boris Pasternak's world-famous novel "Doctor Zhivago" is just being published. (Issue No 1 of NOVYY MIR 1988) and the novel "Life and Destiny" by Vasiliy Grosman (issue No 1 of OKTYABR magazine) and others are also being published. However, all these books were written in a period justifiably defined as a period of stagnation in our development—or even earlier, in the personality cult era—when such works were simply buried alive. They are now being reborn and are acquiring a new, topical character, they are being considered from a new point of view of life and society. Unfortunately, it is perhaps too early today for powerful works of art by contemporary authors, or works by young authors to appear. The restructuring policy is relatively slow in permeating our cinematographic art, our theater, and literature today. Nevertheless, we believe in our creative intelligentsia, which is the intellectual mainstay of the restructuring process. We should not be in a hurry to sow early crops. We have examples from the recent past in this respect, examples of phoney successes, of artistically and ideologically superficial works. This is our point of view, although we are impatiently waiting for new achievements of our creative artists.

As for the educational sector, everyone is aware that the intensification of restructuring processes greatly depends on the generations still attending high schools and universities. This is a strategic question of exceptionally great importance. We are expected to accomplish a drastic change to overcome the existing alienation of education from the needs of practical life. A tremendous amount of work awaits us in connection with the revision of old textbooks. Students are still being taught on the basis of such books today, in a period when our society is rejecting categories and concepts alien to restructuring and democracy.

We are now analyzing very serious problems and shortcomings in our science. Recently, elections for the leadership of the Academy of Sciences proceeded according to new methods and we are expecting a new development in work with young scientific cadres, we are expecting new thinking to be applied to scientific research and to creative work. It is our goal to involve talented people, who for many years worked in various scientific departments at the periphery of our country. Scientists exist whose achievements have not been sufficiently appreciated—in the Far East, in the Siberian Scientific Center, in the union republics. Numerous shortcomings are being corrected. Perhaps you have heard about our remarkable surgeon Elizarov, and you have presumably also heard that until recently he was not accepted by the Academy of Medical Sciences. In the meantime society has rejected this injustice and he is already a corresponding member of this Academy. Restructuring has changed the destiny of individual people. [passage omitted]

Deputy Defense Ministers Attend GDR Reception

PM081641 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Anniversary"]

[Text] Major General H. Unterdoerfel, military attache at the GDR Embassy in the Soviet Union, held a reception 29 February on the 32d anniversary of the GDR National People's Army.

The following attended the reception: Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, Army General I.M. Tretyak, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, Army General V.L. Govorov, and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and generals, admirals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Military attaches at embassies of a number of foreign states in the Soviet Union were among those invited.

G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, was present.

RUDE PRAVO Editor on CSSR History, Restructuring
PM081655 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 14

[Interview with Zdenek Horeni, RUDE PRAVO chief editor, by special correspondent Irina Gavrilova: "The Year of the 'Double Eight'"; date not given]

[Text] Prague—Gavrilova: If you look back over Czechoslovakia's history this century you can't help thinking that the number eight has figured prominently in its destiny. This is not a scientific approach, of course, but even so 1918, 1938, 1948, 1968 stand out...

Now it is 1988. Can we expect anything out of the ordinary in the year of the "double eight"?

Horeni: In fact some people believe the figure eight has some sort of significance for the fate of our modern history. I, of course, do not believe in such coincidences of "fate," especially as these eights were very unpleasant but extremely inspiring at the same time. Take 28 October 1918, the day that the Czechoslovak Republic, the common state of Czechs and Slovaks, was proclaimed—that was undoubtedly a portentous date. It was an outstanding progressive event in our history. That is also true of the events of February 1948, when an attempted putsch by the ministers of three reactionary parties aimed at overthrowing the K. Gottwald government was thwarted. Thanks to the resolute action of the broad masses of the working people a clear answer was given to the fundamental question of history—"who will win": Will political power belong to the bourgeoisie or to the working class?

The Munich agreement of 1938 was a tragedy for us. That was when the bourgeois Governments of France and Britain handed the Czechoslovak Republic over to Hitler to tear to pieces.

Finally, the events of 1968 demand a differentiated approach: on the one hand, the "January program," which was important for the further development of the socialist society, was adopted at the CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in January 1968, but on the other hand it was not only not fulfilled but, moreover, it was betrayed. The reason was that the right-wing opportunist forces in our party headed by A. Dubcek opened the door to counterrevolutionary forces which created a strategic threat to the socialist development of our country. These events were assessed by our party at the time in the document entitled "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and in Society after the 13th CPCZ Congress," an assessment which essentially needs no amendment—and the passage of time, I believe, shows there is no doubt about that.

Therefore I expect the year of the "double eight" to tilt the balance from 2-2 to 3-2 in favor of our socialist society, and I believe this will be the year of the decisive turn toward implementing the Czechoslovak reform program adopted at the CPCZ Central Committee Plenum last December.

Gavrilova: What do you consider to be Czechoslovakia's most important problems now, in the year of the 40th anniversary of the February events?

Horeni: Our national and revolutionary history has known bright days of celebration, such as the arrival of the Soviet troops in Prague on 9 May 1945. There were the revolutionary days of February 1948 and the difficulties of the nationalization of industry. We cannot erase from history the show trials of the early fifties, whose victims included many honest fighters for socialism, among them our party's General Secretary Rudolf Slansky. We know that our current president, Comrade Gustav Husak, the outstanding organizer of the Slovak national uprising, was also a victim of the machinery of repression. The party frankly told the whole truth about that and rehabilitation added the finishing touch in all cases, but the most important thing is that legal safeguards were established which will prevent such tragedies from ever recurring. We do not emphasize those pages in our history but neither do we forget them. Prague—Gavrilova: The main thing is the present and the future. Socialism has become part of our lives forever, although we also realize that 99 percent of the votes cast at the elections to local and supreme organs of state power does not mean that everyone is wholeheartedly behind the new social system. We have among us the waverers, the sellouts, the political bankrupts of 1968, and those who would again like to destroy our socialist home as they did 20 years ago. Whatever the problems, and they do exist of course, it remains an indisputable fact that since the crisis years we have managed to rescue society from a state of political and economic chaos. We have no unemployment. We have no inflation. We have reduced the foreign trade debt to a minimum. Agriculture is profitable and meets our needs. The countryside has caught up with the city in terms of living standards. An extensive range of social guarantees has been created. I repeat—this does not mean everything is well in our country. Society now pins great hopes on the reforms which have either already been

announced or are in preparation. The reform of the economic mechanism takes pride of place among them. There must be greater independence and responsibility in the production sphere. But there must also be reform in political life, too—in the party and throughout the National Front system—and it is also necessary to further develop the principles of democracy within our society. There is also much work ahead for us in a sphere which is very dear to me personally—in the development of glasnost.

Elections have already been held for the post of director at dozens of industrial enterprises and in each case several candidates were nominated on a competitive basis. I believe we must also apply the multiple candidate principle in the electoral system (from national committees through to legislative organs). The present system is badly affected by formalism. Amendments to our Constitution are currently being drawn up. The changes which are taking or are about to take place in society must be enshrined in it without fail. The administrative apparatus has proliferated everywhere and everyone feels the time has come for the party and the government to take resolute measures in the struggle against bureaucracy. Environmental problems are also acute.

One thing is beyond doubt: The process of changes to rectify the shortcomings and to develop socialism's economic, social, and moral forces has begun. I see this as the modern embodiment of the ideas of February and of the slogan proclaimed by K. Gottwald: "Ever onward."

Gavrilova: The CPCZ Central Committee recently elected Milos Jakes general secretary of the party Central Committee. Gustav Husak has remained CSSR president. The mechanism for the transfer of power, the ensuring of the succession of power and the rejuvenation of the leadership, is a very important problem for the steady, ongoing development of socialist countries. What is Czechoslovakia's experience in this regard?

Horeni: Gustav Husak resigned from the post of CPCZ general secretary on his 75th birthday because, as he told the CPCZ Central Committee plenum, the tasks were becoming bigger and bigger while his powers were declining. The new CPCZ Central Committee general secretary was molded in the ranks of the present party leadership. He, together with Comrade Gustav Husak and other leading figures of our party, drew up the program approved at the CPCZ Central Committee December Plenum. The principle of training new young cadres side by side with old, experienced comrades has been and is part of our social practice (although it has not always been done so consistently). By way of proof I can cite the following figures: In the period between our party's 16th and 17th congresses more than one-third of the secretaries and more than 45 percent of the first secretaries of CPCZ district committees were replaced. At recent party conferences one-third of members and candidate members of district and kray party committees were renewed. During these 5 years 45 percent of leading cadres in ministries, departments, and enterprises were renewed.

We are seeking to establish a healthy, stable complement of cadres while at the same time bringing about rational renewal and rejuvenation where required. As for the "change of guard" at the top of our party, I think the civilized way in which it took place requires no commentary.

Gavrilova: In Moscow M.S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes said the basic thrusts of restructuring in our countries coincide. But Czechoslovak restructuring will also undoubtedly have features peculiar to it alone, will it not?

Prague—Horeni: Yes, our countries are distinct. For example, the political system of the National Front in Czechoslovakia relies on several political parties. The church in our country is not separated from the state and clergymen are, strictly speaking, state employees: The state pays them and expenditure for the upkeep of churches is an item in the state budget. We have an extensively developed cooperative system (I, by the way, am a member of a housing cooperative). One in three, perhaps even two in three adult citizens are involved in a cooperative. The cooperative carries great weight in our national economy, especially in the services sphere.

We do not exaggerate our specific character, we always stress the decisive role of general objective laws in the development of socialism while categorically repudiating the claim that the "Soviet model" of socialism has been implanted here. The restructuring of the economic mechanism in our country is prompted by the internal needs of our society, although we are seeking to adopt, adapt to our own conditions, and develop the experience of countries which are tackling similar social tasks.

We have not always dealt in the best way with our own experience. For example, self-managing labor collectives successfully operated here between 1945 and 1952. It has to be acknowledged that it was shortsighted to ignore this experience and that it should have been given a correct theoretical evaluation and have been maintained and developed. No one forced us to abandon it. If you consider the elimination of self-management mistaken, then we have no one to blame but ourselves or, to be precise, those Czechoslovak political figures who made the decision.

It has to be acknowledged that we did in the past more than once adopt particular methods from our friends which did not fully pay off. But in most cases we adopted experience which helped us and made an undoubted impact. We will continue to learn from our friends, particularly our Soviet friends. There is nothing shameful here and no grounds for self-criticism. Mutual enrichment through experience of developing socialism is a

wise, objectively necessary policy and the only correct one. Restructuring is not a concession to fashion. Restructuring is a process of social changes for the better according to the formula of "more socialism," a law-governed and continuous process. And, as such, it began quite naturally both in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. There exist and will exist many distinguishing features in the economic mechanism of the enormous Land of the Soviets and our small republic, but these are incapable of impeding the expedient rapprochement of our two countries' economies in the strategic interests of socialism.

Gavrilova: In other words, Soviet restructuring and the Czechoslovak reforms cannot be seen as cause and effect?

Horeni: The reforms are an internal requirement of our society. But Soviet restructuring has undoubtedly boosted our search. That is how the present reform, already the fourth since 1948, came about. We consider it to be the most considerable package of socioeconomic measures since nationalization.

I will say frankly that our society must overcome a certain psychological inhibition regarding reforms in general, since we burned our fingers in 1968 with reforms that deformed rather than reformed. Many of my compatriots thus regard the word "reform" with mistrust. The content of the "reform" which right-wing opportunists and revisionists sought 20 years ago essentially amounted to a retreat from socialism and to its dismantling. Yet the party's "January Program" intended further developing socialism, socialist democracy, and the socialist economy, strengthening relations with the Soviet Union, and active participation in the Warsaw Pact's defense efforts. The Siks under the benevolent noninterference of the Dubceks had quite different aims. Some political bankrupts are also advocating restructuring today. They write letters about this to various editorial offices. They beat their breasts, claiming they wanted precisely what restructuring is now urging. Even those who completely discredited themselves in 1968 demand the right to speak.

Our society flatly and rightly rejects attempts to put present-day Soviet restructuring on a par with the anti-Soviet, destructive activity in Czechoslovakia in the spring and summer of 1968. Restructuring in the USSR, just like restructuring in our country, means intensifying socialism. The actions of the counterrevolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968 were objectively aimed at eliminating socialism. All those who wittingly or otherwise misrepresent the historical facts should remember this today.

West Europe

Further Report on Danish CP's Moscow, Riga Visit

PM081523 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Comradely Atmosphere"]

[Text] A Danish Communist Party [DKP] delegation headed by DKP Chairman O. Sohn has paid a week-long visit to the Soviet Union. The delegation also included I. Norlund, A. Schorning, R. Sorensen, and I. Wagner, members of the Executive Committee and the DKP Central Committee Secretariat.

The delegation was received by A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

During the conversation, which was held in a comradely atmosphere, the sides exchanged information on questions of CPSU and DKP activity and touched on topical problems of the situation in the world today and on some aspects of the international communist and workers movement. The delegation was informed about the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life now in progress and the deepening of the processes of democratization and glasnost.

O. Sohn gave a report on the DKP's work to defend the interests of the country's working people, activate the antiwar movement, increase Denmark's positive contribution to European political affairs, and strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation among the European peoples.

During a discussion of international problems, the sides noted the significance of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as the first real step toward nuclear disarmament and stressed the importance of the campaign to secure the treaty's ratification. The participants in the meeting noted the complete coincidence of CPSU and DKP views on problems of settling the situation in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and southern Africa.

Special attention was paid to the need to reduce the level of military activity in northern Europe, to strengthen peace and security in the region, and to develop cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, which serves the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Denmark, and the other north European countries. In this connection the importance of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe was emphasized. The point was made that it is necessary to translate into practical actions the initiatives that were set out in M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk speech on 1 October 1987 and that were recently given specific form by the Soviet Union.

The DKP representatives confirmed the proposal to hold a conference of Baltic states' parliamentarians and representatives of the public to promote the idea of the nuclear-free status of the Baltic and to develop political, economic, and cultural cooperation. The island of Bornholm, for example, in view of its geographical position in the Baltic, could be an appropriate venue for such a conference. There would also be a certain symbolic significance in holding the conference in Murmansk.

The CPSU and DKP representatives supported the further strengthening of traditional ties between the two fraternal parties and advocated that they be made more effective in view of the new tasks facing the international communist and workers movement today, tasks which make to necessary to increase its unity and collaboration.

O. Sohn described Danish young people's growing interest in the development of the processes of restructuring and glasnost in the Soviet Union. The two sides supported initiatives aimed at developing friendship between Danish and Soviet youth.

The wish was expressed that Danish Communists will be successful in their activity aimed at strengthening the DKP's position and standing in the country's sociopolitical life and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

O. Sohn expressed gratitude to the CPSU for its comradely solidarity with the DKP and noted that the positive results of restructuring in the Soviet Union, which has received the full support of Danish Communists, are helping to promote the struggle for socialism throughout the world.

The DKP delegation also had conversations at the AUCCTU and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences and visited Latvia, where a meeting was held at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. The Danish comrades visited industrial enterprises in Riga, familiarized themselves with Soviet people's working and living conditions, and laid flowers at the monument to the victims of fascism in the Salaspils memorial complex.

The DKP delegation has left for home.

AUCCTU Delegation Visits Sweden

PM081327 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Feb 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] An AUCCTU delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary G.F.Sukhoruchenkova flew to Stockholm 27 February at the invitation of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

The delegation will take part in a Soviet-Swedish seminar on questions of structural changes in the economy and their impact on the position of working people.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama's Foreign Minister Scores U.S. Exercise

LD090940 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 9 TASS—Jorge Abadia Arias, minister of foreign affairs of Panama, has denounced the holding of a military exercise by the U.S. in the Panama Canal Zone. Speaking at a press conference in Panama City Tuesday, he pointed out that the holding of the military exercise without preliminary consultation with the Panamanian Government was a prelude to a U.S. invasion of Panama.

According to Jorge Abadia Arias, Washington's order on starting the military exercise was a gross violation of the Panamanian-American agreements on the canal connecting two oceans, which say that the consent of the Panamanian Government is indispensable for holding any military exercise in the Panama Canal Zone. The holding of the military exercise despite an official refusal of the Panamanian authorities to give their consent to it constitutes a brazen aggression of the U.S. against Panama.

The foreign minister of Panama urged governments of Latin American countries to display solidarity with that Central American state facing the threat of a U.S. direct armed invasion.

Contras 'Refuse' To Negotiate With Government

LD090734 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 8 TASS—Chieftains of Nicaraguan contras refused to participate in direct talks with the Nicaraguan Government scheduled for Wednesday. In a telephone interview with the UPI agency, Adolfo Calero, a leader of the so-called Nicaraguan resistance, said that counter-revolutionaries would not come tomorrow for the talks, since they believed that it was necessary to hold a preliminary meeting of representatives of the two sides. "We shall not take part in the talks," said Calero.

Last week Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega called on the contra leaders to hold direct talks on March 9-11 to settle the Nicaragua situation and to establish peace in the region.

Nicaraguan Vice President on U.S. 'Aggression'

LD081202 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 8 TASS—The U.S. ruling circles and reactionaries seek to stifle Nicaragua and justify the never-announced aggression against the republic under the pretext of a "threat" allegedly posed by Nicaragua to U.S. national security, Nicaragua's vice president said in Managua Monday.

Sergio Ramirez said that, despite the refusal by the U.S. Congress to give more financial aid to contras, the Central Intelligence Agency had stated its readiness to render the contras every kind of military and financial support.

"This testifies to a U.S. intention to continue the aggression against Nicaragua by all means. The United States is trying to give the war in Nicaragua an 'internal' character

through the formation of a domestic front from among opposition ultra-rightist parties for the purpose of creating a powerful opposition to the Sandinist National Liberation Front and straining the situation in the country," Ramirez said.

"The policies of right-wing reactionaries play into the hands of U.S. advocates of an escalation of aggression in Central America and are aimed at thwarting the efforts of the peoples of the region to independently settle the crisis."

The vice president said the actions of the opposition led by the Social-Democratic, Social-Christian and Conservative Parties, which were closely connected with the U.S. Embassy in Managua, were aimed to do away with the Sandinist revolution and bring back the times when pro-American regimes ruled the country. Reactionaries, he said, were an obedient tool in the hands of U.S. imperialists for destabilising the situation in the country.

"However, despite the years-long aggression, orchestrated from the White House, all attempts by external and internal reactionaries to sow chaos and disorder in the country have failed. The Nicaraguan people firmly stand on guard of the revolutionary achievements and are ready to uphold their independence.

"We stand for peace and are ready to make every effort to implement the Guatemala agreements. The Sandinist National Liberation Front believes in a peaceful settlement of the crisis and a solution of the Central American issue through talks," Ramirez said.

He pointed out that Nicaragua "will always advocate the regional conflict's settlement without foreign interference".

Condolences on Death of Cuban Politician

PM081441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium message to Cuban Council of State]

[Text] To the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba

Dear Comrades!

It was with deep regret that we learned of the death of Flavio Bravo Pardo, eminent Cuban politician and statesman, chairman of the National Assembly of People's Power, and member of the Council of State.

An active participant in the revolutionary movement in the forties and fifties, Flavio Bravo Pardo fought selflessly for the social and national liberation of the Cuban people. After the victory of the revolution he made a great contribution to building socialism in Cuba.

The Soviet Union remembers how much Flavio Bravo Pardo did for the all-round expansion and deepening of Soviet-Cuban friendship and fraternal cooperation.

We ask that you convey our sincere condolences to the friends and relatives of the deceased.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Political & Social

Zaykov Urges 'Creative' Quests in Light Industry

PM081029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Key Question of Restructuring"]

[Text] The satisfaction of the growing demand for consumer goods and services directly affects working people's mood and becomes a kind of barometer of restructuring. The tasks of Moscow's party organizations and soviet and economic organs in retooling light industry in 1988 through 1995 ensuring the satisfaction of the population's requirements for high-quality goods were examined at a 26 February meeting of the party and economic aktiv of the capital's light industry enterprises.

The meeting was opened by L.N. Zaykov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Moscow CPSU Gorkom first secretary. One of the central, priority questions of the party's social policy, he said, is the supply of the necessary goods and services to the population. The activation of the human factor and the progress of our restructuring depend largely on how this task is resolved.

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum stressed with new force the exceptional importance of measures to accelerate the development of consumer goods production. The situation which has taken shape in this sphere of the economy is causing grave anxiety to the Central Committee and government and immediately requires enormous, it may be said colossal, efforts.

It is essential to focus attention simultaneously on the implementation of the radical economic reform and on the normalization of the current economic situation and the satisfaction of people's urgent requirements and needs. Here we need not simply quality but above all high quality and a broad range of goods and services for the people.

It was from this viewpoint that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session yesterday examined the government proposal for the retooling of light industry in 1988 through 1995. During the discussion of this question it was emphasized that overcoming the lag in the production and scientific base and the large-scale modernization of light industry are acquiring priority importance.

The Politburo approved the program for accelerating scientific and technical progress in light industry and the extensive use of modern equipment and technology, which will make it possible to achieve a fundamental breakthrough in supplying the population with goods and services.

Moscow is a very large center for light industry. The output produced at the capital's enterprises includes the entire range of consumer goods. Large combines and associations and leading research and design organizations engaged in developing and producing consumer goods are concentrated here. Output with the trademark of enterprises like the "Trekhgorka," "Bolshevichka," "Smena," "Moskva," and others is in demand and has a good reputation.

But the technical standard of production and, the main thing, the collectives' working and living conditions, have lagged considerably behind the requirements of the times.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers draft resolution approved by the Politburo provides for the modernization of 33 of the technically most backward enterprises in the capital producing consumer goods. It is understandable that these are the enterprises for whose retooling large appropriations are required. That is why the Moscow party gorkom has proposed that the Moscow Gorispolkom and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry be instructed to draft a program for the updating of a further 36 associations and factories.

With a consideration for this point the total volume of capital investments which it is proposed to assimilate by 1995 is in excess of R1.5 billion. The implementation of the planned measures will make it possible to considerably increase the production of high-quality light industry goods over this period.

But that is only part of the large-scale tasks facing Moscow's economy. There must be a 60 percent increase in the volume of work on the construction of industrial, sociocultural, and consumer projects, at least 48 million square meters of total living area must be commissioned in the 12th to 14th 5-Year Plans, and in the central part of the city alone up to 700,000 square meters of the housing stock must be modernized. It is necessary also substantially to increase the volume of work on the construction of trade, education, health, and municipal establishments.

It is impossible to resolve these tasks solely through the efforts of the city construction organizations. The capacities of ministries and the enterprises themselves must be enlisted in every way to the installation and modernization of establishments, including light industry establishments, and economic experience in construction must be actively developed.

In brief, a truly enormous amount of complex work faces us. It will require the constant attention of the party gorkom and raykoms, the Moscow Gorispolkom and its main administrations, and the rayispolkoms. Each person must be aware of his personal responsibility for the implementation of the projected goals. This was aptly

stated in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Central Committee February Plenum: Instances of the disruption of targets must be made the subject of glasnost everywhere and the culprits must be severely punished.

I should like to emphasize one more fundamental element: The labor collectives and all Muscovites must be enlisted actively to work on the modernization of light industry enterprises and the solution of social questions. We are advancing toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference, L.N. Zaykov stressed, and we must greet it with specific results on all salients.

The report delivered by A.A. Nizovtseva, Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretary, and the speeches delivered by V.V. Klyuyev, first secretary of the capital's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom, M.D. Poleshchuk, member of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom bureau and weaver at the P.P. Shcherbakov silk combine, G.Ye. Napolov, director of the Rostokino worsted finishing factory, E.I. Razumeyev, USSR first deputy minister of light industry, and other participants pointed out that the past year has been instructive for the capital's light industry enterprises. Positive trends have been noted: the growth of the production of goods in heightened demand and the acceleration of the renewal of real assets. At the same time adherence to methods of management through directives, the weakness of direct links between enterprises and suppliers, and the lack of initiative and dependence of many leaders. To ensure a truly fundamental breakthrough it is essential to gamble on increasing autonomy and responsibility, to better coordinate the efforts of party, soviet, and economic organs, public organizations, and labor collective councils, to launch creative quest more extensively, and to actively enlist the masses to the solution of all production and social questions.

The meeting was addressed by A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary. The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, she noted, assessed the situation on the consumer market as tense. The population's effective demand, including the demand for light industry articles, is not being satisfied.

An all-around analysis of the state of affairs shows that the capital's light industry has real possibilities for working more effectively. For this the enterprise leaders and labor collectives must above all master the ability to make full use of the potential of the new economic mechanism and overcome relapses into the "gross output" approach. There are still many enterprises which are continuing to orient themselves toward the average consumer, take scant account of the requirements of different categories of the population, and continue to be guided by what is more convenient and more simple for the factory.

Yet under the conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing only a correct goods range policy makes it possible to effectively meet the people's requirements for necessary items and gives the key to the dynamic development of the labor collectives and their stable economic and financial position. There should be no group of the population unable to satisfy its requirements for clothing, footwear, textiles, knitted items, and other articles. That is how the CPSU Central Committee puts the question and economic leaders and primary party organizations should proceed from this in their activity. An important reserve for increasing efficiency is the fullest possible use of the existing production potential. In Moscow now the loading of capacities for the production of sewn and knitted articles and the shift coefficient lag considerably behind all-union indicators. The situation must be put right.

The market situation demands that the volume of production of high-quality output be drastically increased. But a propensity for an easy, quiet life and the desire to adopt the smallest possible plan prevail in some labor collectives. Party and soviet organs and primary organizations must give a keen, principled assessment of these feelings and persistently overcome them.

The transition to new general schemes of management is an inalienable component of restructuring the economy. The capital's party and soviet organs have recently stepped up work on the creation of new, progressive management structures for light industry. As of today there are six industrial and trade associations operating in the city. At the same time Moscow is still doing little to create large scale production associations.

The speech paid great attention to the tasks stemming from the program approved at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session for accelerating scientific and technical progress in light industry. This document essentially opens up a new stage in the sector's development. It provides for a drastic increase in production, the improvement of the technical standard and quality of equipment for light industry, and the implementation of large-scale operations to retool existing production capacities and create new ones and to eliminate "bottlenecks" and intrasectorial disproportions. Here priority is given to the development of the footwear, sewn goods, and knitted goods industry and to finishing facilities in the textile industry.

Crucial tasks also face the sector's science. In Moscow there are 13 head light industry scientific research institutes in which half of all the sector's scientific cadres work. That is a powerful potential, but the yield from it as yet is small.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt in detail on questions of the social development of light industry enterprises. It is the solution of these problems which contains the key to reducing the outflow of cadres and keeping them. Only the creation of stable collectives and the high qualifications of workers who make skillful use of progressive equipment are the guarantee of successful work.

In conclusion A.P. Biryukova expressed the confidence that the Moscow light industry workers will do everything for the successful fulfillment of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party Central Committee plenums and will greet the 19th All-Union Party Conference with new successes in their work.

Those taking part in the meeting urged all workers of the textile and light industry and the working people of related sectors of the Soviet Union's national economy to increase the production of new high-quality goods and to raise collective responsibility for ensuring labor and technological discipline and the quality of output and work.

Summing up the results of the meeting, L.N. Zaykov stressed that an important businesslike talk had been held today. There had been an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs in the sector and constructive proposals had been submitted on drastically changing the situation, improving work under the new conditions of economic management, improving the technical standard of production and the quality of the output produced, and expanding its range.

Many good decisions have been made even before, it is important now to turn everything which has been planned into specific deeds. For that it is essential to bring into operation all the reserves, of which there are many in the sector, and to enhance the role of the union and republican ministries in modernizing Moscow light industry enterprises. A persistent creative quest, which is the only guarantee of success, must be introduced in every collective. Without the people, without the working people's tireless participation in the solution of economic and social problems, L.N. Zaykov stressed, we will achieve nothing!

Taking part in the meeting were L.F. Bobykin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee light industry and consumer goods department, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations.

Chebrikov Addresses Olympic Athletes

LD042344 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Sports announcer] Hello there, Comrades. The 15th Winter Olympics in Calgary are another glorious page in the history of Soviet sports. A substantial contribution to the overall success of our Olympic team was made by Dinamo [All-Union Sports and Physical Fitness Society] athletes. They won 14 medals, 9 of them gold. At the central Dinamo council in Moscow today, a meeting took place between the KGB leadership and the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, on the one hand, and the Dinamo athletes who took part in the Calgary winter Olympics, on the other. [passage omitted]

Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov addressed the meeting. He warmly congratulated the Dinamo members of the Olympic team and all involved in their training. Comrade Chebrikov noted that Soviet sportsmen had again demonstrated that they can compete at the highest level with all foreign rivals and beat them. He also wished Dinamo athletes who would be competing in the summer Olympic games similar success. [Video shows athletes in blazers listening to Chebrikov, who is flanked by Internal Affairs Minister Vlasov, and surrounded by unidentified men]

Murakhovskiy Chairs Environment Commission

PM021139 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 2

[TASS report: "Concern for Nature"]

[Text] A routine session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Protection of the Environment and Rational Use of Natural Resources was held on 22 February.

The commission examined measures to protect the environment and to make rational use of natural resources in opening up the Tengiz oil field and the Karachaganak gas and oil condensate field. It was noted that the USSR Ministries of the Petroleum Industry and of the Gas Industry, when elaborating plans for the first stages of opening up the fields in question, make no provision for proper measures ensuring the ecological safety of the production units being set up there. Planning decisions rely insufficiently on the application of waste-free technologies and do not contain the necessary study of protecting the Caspian Sea from oil pollution or of protecting fish resources, marine animals, waterfowl, and land resources. The industrial and civil construction that is now under way there involves gross violations of environmental protection legislation. The commission drew the attention of USSR Ministers V.A. Dinkov, V.S. Chernomyrdin, V.G. Chirskov, and S.V. Bashilov to the underestimation of environmental protection issues in opening up the aforementioned fields.

The resolution adopted on this question provides for a package of measures to ensure ecological safety during the development of petroleum and gas extracting and processing industries in the region. The USSR Academy of Sciences was instructed to organize in this region, jointly with the ministries and departments concerned and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, a detailed large-scale study of the effect of the development of these fields on the ecosystem of dry land and the Caspian Sea, the Volga River delta, and the Ural River basin, with a view to elaborating recommendations for rational utilization of the environment.

The question of work in the Belorussian SSR on environmental protection and rational use of natural resources was examined. The commission noted that the republic has achieved certain results in environmental protection work. Natural soil fertility has increased somewhat over the last few years, and there has been a reduction in the reallocation of valuable farmland for nonagricultural purposes. More than 10,000 hectares of damaged land are recultivated and returned to economic circulation every year. The consumption of fresh water in daily life and for the national economy's needs has not increased for several years, and the coefficient of water use in water circulation and recycling systems has reached 85 percent, making it possible to save 8 cubic km of fresh water in the republic each year. At the same time, there are still some unsolved problems in environmental protection work. For example, more than 1.5 million hectares of land in the republic are polluted by discharges of harmful substances and noxious chemicals. About 3 million tonnes of harmful substances are discharged into the atmosphere each year, and discharges from over 500 industrial enterprises exceed permissible norms.

The commission instructed the USSR ministries with enterprises in the republic to enhance their exactingness toward enterprise leaders for strictly observing environmental protection legislation and promptly implementing measures to protect the environment and improve use of natural resources in line with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 17 January 1988 resolution "On Fundamental Restructuring of Environmental Protection Work in the Country." The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers was instructed to improve organizational work on environmental protection in the republic and to intensify monitoring of compliance with environmental protection legislation.

The question of boosting responsibility for violating forestry use rules in forests around Lake Baykal was also examined. The decision adopted on this question specifically orders the USSR State Committees for Forestry and for Environmental Control to elaborate, in the immediate future, economically substantiated normative payments for timber resources and the size of payments with respect to damage inflicted on forestry through violation of timber use rules and with respect to environmental pollution through the discharge of harmful substances in the atmosphere and other man-made effects.

The commission's session was chaired by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Further Reportage on Armenia, Azerbaijan

Peoples' Friendship Stressed

PM081501 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 26 Feb 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Asset Is the Friendship of the Peoples"]

[Text] Exactly 2 years have passed since the 27th CPSU Congress. The event was of such great significance that we were hardly able to see and fully grasp it at the time. But now that two tumultuous years packed with vivid events and the spirit of renewal have passed, we have good reason to speak of the truly historic significance of that congress for the destinies of the people, the party, and the country and for peace throughout the planet.

Developing democracy and glasnost have brightly illumined our life today and the path we have traveled. There have been many great achievements on this path. Great construction projects, opening up natural riches, and scaling the heights of science and culture. Yet our most important achievement, our chief asset, is the friendship of the peoples.

Unfortunately, we have used these words too often, with and without cause, and turned them into habitual, sloganlike cliches. But the concepts of friendship, fraternity, and internationalism have never lost their luster or their profound, noble meaning among the people themselves, in their consciousness, in their everyday life, and, of course, in their festivals. This is natural, for the Armenian people acquired these concepts through centuries and millennia of suffering and paid for them in blood. This is why the dream of a bright future was of the time when the peoples would live as brothers, sharing joy and sorrow.

M.S. Gorbachev pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress that the Great October Socialist Revolution laid the foundations for resolving the nationalities question in our country. Relying on the teaching of V.I. Lenin and the gains of socialism, the Communist Party has done tremendous transforming work in this sphere. Its results are socialism's outstanding gain, which has enriched world civilization. National oppression and national inequality in all forms and manifestations have been destroyed once and for all. The unbreakable friendship of the peoples and respect for the national culture and national dignity of all peoples have become firmly established and entered the consciousness of tens of millions of people.

But, it was rightly pointed out at the congress, our achievements must not create the idea that national processes are problem-free. Contradictions are inherent in all development and are inevitable in this sphere too. The chief thing is to see their constantly arising aspects and facets, to seek and give timely, correct answers to the questions advanced by life.

During the period of the personality cult and what we call the stagnation years, many negative phenomena emerged and put down roots which, for all their heterogeneity, have a common basis—individualism, substitution of personal and group interests for social ones, and abuse of the laws of socialist economic development. In an atmosphere of indifference and total license, embezzlement of public funds, bribery, and violations of social justice blossomed in all their unsightliness; drunkenness

spread, and drug addiction appeared. All these shortcomings were hushed up for a long time as they undermined the health of society from within and introduced nervousness into relations among people. A clear gap was created between the actual life of the people and the optimistic slogans resounding from rostrums. Inter-nation relations are a subtle, delicate sphere which reacts in its own way and very sensitively to any shortcomings in social life.

Yes, undoubtedly there are problems. But we must be profoundly aware of a simple thought: We must not act rashly in this matter or yield to emotions. It is impossible to resolve in a short time all the problems which have built up over the years. What is needed here is a calm, consistent, objective view of things, a sense of responsibility, and state wisdom in the approach to every question, both large and, at first sight, small. And, of course, each of us must feel himself to be a citizen of an enormous multinational country and evaluate from these positions the problems that exist.

All that has been said applies in full to the situation which has taken shape around Nagorno-Karabakh. Taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by democracy and glasnost, people are going to rallies and openly expressing their thoughts. However, as V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out in his speech on Armenian television, restructuring and democracy have nothing in common with raging passions, breaching public order and labor rhythm at enterprises, or disrupting lessons in educational institutions. The study and resolution of such serious questions demand a different, calm and businesslike atmosphere.

M.S. Gorbachev declared at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum that an upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum will be devoted to problems of contemporary nationalities policy. The recent meeting of the republic party aktiv asked the CPSU Central Committee to examine the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh comprehensively with other questions during the preparations for the plenum.

"We are instructed to report," V.I. Dolgikh said on television, "that this problem will be studied and examined with all attention and in the appropriate form." However, he warned, this takes time.

The party has always paid close attention to educating working people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, strengthening the fraternal unity of the Soviet peoples, and resolving the problems that arise. Serious attention was also devoted to these questions in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum.

True internationalism and true friendship of the peoples, he pointed out, are possible only with profound respect for the dignity, honor, culture, language, and history of every people and with extensive contacts among them.

In short, it was stated at the plenum, we must presently tackle nationalities policy very thoroughly, along all lines—in both theory and practice. This is a most fundamental, vital question of our society. This firm guideline elaborated by the party is the reliable guarantee that the problems which have appeared will be examined with all earnestness and businesslike efficiency, with due regard for all opinions and views.

Restructuring has set the Soviet people a task of tremendous importance. We rightly call revolutionary the planned transformations and those which have already begun. But we must constantly remember that our country and economy are a unified, integral organism, and restructuring can triumph only through our joint efforts.

The Armenian people are full of fraternal feelings for the great Russian people, and age-old traditions of friendship exist in the family of the Transcaucasian peoples. This friendship has stood the test of time and been tempered on great construction projects and sealed by blood jointly shed in fighting for the honor and freedom of our socialist homeland. No one must cloud this friendship. It is the fundamental basis of our successes and victories.

In the restless situation that has taken shape, it is the duty of every Communist, Komsomol member, and inhabitant of the republic to display high awareness, restraint, and courage and to do everything to restore the normal rhythm of life, work, and study.

Azerbaijan Crime Figures Cited

PM091039 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 28 Feb 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Azerbaijan SSR MVD Report"]

[Text] On 26 February this year 13 crimes were recorded in the republic, including 4 cases of grievous bodily harm, 7 thefts, and 2 others.

No crimes were recorded in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Armenian on Gorbachev Meeting

PM081230 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 6-7 Mar 88 p 11

[Interview with writer Silva B. Kaputikyan, member of Armenian delegation recently received by Gorbachev, by Ezio Mauro; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Passage omitted] [Mauro] What did you say to Gorbachev, while the people of Yerevan were still in the streets?

[Kaputikyan] I will tell you what I repeated to myself at that moment: This is the first time in 67 years that Moscow has set eyes on us. Here I am in the Kremlin to convey the tragic situation in Armenia. I have forgotten much of what I told Gorbachev because of the very emotional nature of the occasion—historic for my people. However, I do know what he said in reply—that he knows about and understands our problem and wants to resolve it personally. "However," he explained, "I now have a number of major national issues to deal with. I promise you another rebirth in Karabakh. At present, however, I cannot make the decision to return this region to Armenia because the situation is very difficult. Nevertheless I will monitor the issue directly."

[Mauro] Did Gorbachev mention to you the possibility of finding some kind of new solution at the Central Committee plenum to be devoted to the nationalities issue?

[Kaputikyan] That plenum will provide an answer for you too, he told us, but you already have a guarantee that my attention is centered on the Karabakh problem.

[Mauro] Do you believe that this pledge is a sufficient response to a protest that brought 700,000 people onto the streets?

[Kaputikyan] I too wondered about this on my return to Yerevan, knowing that I would have to address the crowds. Before speaking, however, I looked at them, saw Gorbachev's photograph on people's banners, and heard slogans calling for and demanding a recognition of our identity. So I said: Tell me, why are we here today? Because somebody has at last allowed us to raise our heads, come down into the streets, and speak out. We must do our utmost to ensure that no harm can be done to Gorbachev. Our hope now lies in him. This is what I said, and the people went back home.

[Mauro] Will the people come back into the streets on 26 March when the month requested by Gorbachev comes to an end?

[Kaputikyan] I do not believe anything should be done on 26 March. We are constantly aware that we are surrounded by an outright tragedy. You see, our people have a very ancient history, a Christian history, and they turn the other cheek to the enemy who attacks them. We did not imagine that a reaction such as that of the past few days could occur in Azerbaijan. This is why we must stay calm and wait. I believe we must not go into the streets, partly because the Yerevan demonstration is unrepeatable, even though it will remain in our minds and history—such a great and important event, a unique even in a people's life.

[Mauro] Do the 700,000 people in Yerevan think the same way as you? Have the informal groups behind the movement disbanded? Is the organizational network that led them still active or has it been dissolved?

[Kaputikyan] We are writing letters, telegrams, and messages and doing our utmost to stop the crowds from returning to the streets. I know that we do not want a bloodbath, however. Following the events in Azerbaijan, this is indeed what we fear—a bloodbath. This is what we must avoid at all costs. We want to live.

[Mauro] Are you saying you are willing to accept a compromise: Could a partial solution of the Karabakh crisis—entailing the opening up of television, education, and cadre recruitment to Armenians—really be sufficient?

[Kaputikyan] I am willing to sign such an agreement. It is necessary now to accept a cultural compromise, postponing a final agreement, which is unrealistic at present. It is enough to look around you to realize this. In this emergency situation, we in Yerevan must, first, shoulder responsibility for the serious dangers faced by the Armenians scattered throughout the country—sacrificial lambs in a sacrifice that must be prevented at all costs.

[Mauro] Are you referring to the violence at Sumgait in Azerbaijan?

[Kaputikyan] Not only that, though of course some frightening things happened at Sumgait. We all heard the news on television of the 31 who died Sunday. However, we are receiving other news by telephone, which prompts suspicions of provocation. The reports are of uncontrolled violence, such as those of young Azerbaijanis wandering the streets in gangs asking everyone if they know the addresses of Armenian families. I know they entered one home and brutally attacked an entire family, just as they pleased. I know that an Azerbaijani was later killed. Nevertheless our people are known throughout the world for having managed to find a common language with their neighbors. We need this common language in order to live.

[Mauro] You mentioned provocations. Are you aware of any specific instances?

[Kaputikyan] Unfortunately, I must say that I see nothing but provocations around us, conceived to further someone else's plans—whose, I do not know. National interests are being exploited to create an explosive situation. However, we are sure that Moscow is heeding us and will help us. This is why I believe we must wait and be patient. [passage omitted]

Vatican Radio Appeal to Lithuania Denounced

PM091153 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 p 3

[Report by "our own correspondent" R. Motskus under the "Rejoinder" rubric: "There's No Holding Them..."]

[Text] Vilnius—Recently Western radio stations broadcasting to the Soviet Baltic republics have become excessively animated. Certain "voices" are attempting to use

the air waves to incite illegal attacks in Lithuania and anti-Soviet gatherings. "Radio Vatican" is among the leaders of this chorus which in February was broadcasting day and night an appeal from a handful of extremists to the entire Lithuanian people and the world's peoples in connection with the so-called 70th anniversary of Lithuanian independence. Moreover, it was claimed that 41 of the republic's citizens had signed the document.

Such a malicious attack has caused legitimate indignation among Lithuania's working people. At meetings and gatherings, through the press, radio, and television, and in thousands of letters to government organs people have voiced their angry protest against interference in the affairs of the Neman region.

In connection with the appearance of this "appeal" in the West, a check has been made which has established that a significant number of those whose surnames were cited by "Radio Vatican" are denying their involvement in the anti-Soviet libel.

It should be said that the leadership of the Lithuanian Catholic Church has also reacted negatively to the inflammatory appeal. Archbishop L. Povilonis, chairman of the Lithuanian Episcopal Conference, stated that the "appeal" disseminated in the West was published without the knowledge and approval of the hierarchy and senior priests of the Roman Catholic Church.

The soap bubble inflated in the West has burst. Our enemies have not succeeded in provoking any mass demonstrations or any anti-Soviet meetings or processions. But failure has evidently embittered the instigators even more. The radio waves are once again filled with false fabrications and slogans.

Claims of Persecution Assailed

PM090951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 First Edition p 2

["Own Correspondent's Column" by Domionas Shnyukas: "They Have Lost Their Sense of Proportion"]

[Excerpt] Vilnius—[Passage omitted] A book published recently in Vilnius entitled "The Word of the People's Defenders" ["Slovo Narodnykh Zashchitnikov"] talks about the class struggle of the postwar years. The United States instigated this struggle both by sending saboteurs and by ideological indoctrination via various "voices."

The fate of the Lithuanian people does not interest U.S. rulers. They use the Baltic map for political and psychological speculation with a view to splitting relations between the peoples of the USSR. The emerging spirit of a reduction in international tension, the first steps toward nuclear disarmament, and the further democratization of life in our country obviously give some people in the West no rest.

The aces of the bourgeois press have dashed off a multitude of articles and the announcers of the "voices" and "waves" have poured out floods of lies about the unworthy methods of "Kremlin propaganda." How many times have they appealed to God, all the saints, and the ideals of truth and conscience. When you listen to the "voices'" variations about the USSR and the Baltic republics, you marvel at how deliberate falsehoods are circulated and augmented.

A "leader of the Lithuanian people" is what people in the West call 50-year-old Niyele Sadunayte, a woman who resents Soviet power. This is no coincidence, for her parents were, in their time, deprived of 160 hectares of their property, which by prewar standards in Lithuania could have been called an estate. Her relatives cooperated with the fascist occupiers and her cousin speaks on "Voice of America."

After secondary school Sadunayte became a nun and engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda and slander, for which she was convicted. Now she is again trying to draw in her wake people who similarly resent Soviet power. She invents tales of her "victories" and the "oppression" of believers. She receives instructions from abroad as to when to meet and where, what to say, and so on—which are, incidentally, repeated later by the "voices." She repeatedly talks about alleged constant persecution and about the authorities' perfidy. Her fantasies are immediately picked up in the West and circulated by various "voices"—"Radio Vatican," for instance.

Since talk has turned to "Radio Vatican" I will note that it sometimes loves to philosophize on the topic of God's commandments, notably one of them—"thou shalt not lie." Alas, it itself lapses into this sin with pleasure. For example, Pyatras Grazhulis was convicted in the city of Kapsukas for ostentatiously refusing to fulfill his constitutional duty—serving in the Army. Grazhulis alluded to the principles of Catholicism. But the Roman Church does not demand this of its flock, otherwise many European states would be left without an army. Evidently realizing the shakiness of this explanation, "Radio Vatican" invented a "horror," reporting that after the sentence was announced, officials ran up to Grazhulis right there in the courtroom in the presence of the public, put him in an armlock, and injected him with strange chemicals in the mouth and face using a syringe, which made the prisoner's eyes and half his face go red. I think that Baron Muenchhausen would turn in his grave if he heard this broadcast.

There is a popular proverb: Tell lies, but only in moderation. Alas, the good Catholics have lost their sense of proportion.

Crimean Tatar Commission Meets in Uzbekistan

PM081015 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Feb 88 p 3

[UZTAG report: "Attempt at Dialogue. In the Republican Working Commission of Crimean Tatar Representatives"]

[Text] A meeting with representatives of working people and party, war, and labor veterans from among the Crimean Tatars has been held in the republican working commission. A keen and frank conversation took place on ways to solve the nationality question.

A briefing report was delivered by O. Adamanov, deputy chairman of the republican working commission and secretary of the Uzbek Trade Union Council. During the 7 months of its existence, the commission has received more than 92,000 suggestions and statements. They have all been processed, studied, and summed up, and the essence of their content has been passed on to the state commission on the Crimean Tatar question. Questions concerning the fuller satisfaction of labor, housing, consumer service, and national-cultural needs of Crimean Tatars living in Uzbekistan have been examined by the republic's party and soviet organs.

The commission's members rely in their work on the support and understanding of republican and union party and soviet organs. We perceive a sincere desire for a fair solution of our nationality question, the speaker emphasized. There have already been some positive developments. According to our information, as of today hundreds of Crimean Tatar families from Uzbekistan have already obtained residence permits in the Crimea. Many of them received specific assistance from the commission.

N. Umerov, editor of the newspaper LENIN BAYRAGHI, spoke of what is being done to activate the Crimean Tatar people's cultural life. The USSR Academy of Sciences has embarked on producing a series of textbooks in the Crimean Tatar language, including a primer. Agreement has been reached with the leadership of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade to speed up publication of a whole series of works in the Crimean Tatar language running to a total of 550 printer's sheets. Decisions have been made on improving teaching of the Crimean Tatar language in schools. The first tour of the Crimea by the "Khaytarma" national ensemble was successful. The newspaper LENIN BAYRAGHI, taking readers' suggestions into account, is increasing the publication of material on life in the Crimea and the problems of Crimean Tatars.

The meeting was also attended by persons expressing extreme autonomist sentiments—physician F. Ablyamitov and lecturer E. Fazylov from Tashkent. Making unsubstantiated statements about infringement of the Crimean Tatars' national interests, they refused to discuss and debate the issues they raised and demonstratively left the session. The participants in the meeting condemned the content and nature of their statements.

Unfortunately, Hero of Socialist Labor S. Tairov said, some representatives of our people display political immaturity and lack of self-control, presenting as an ultimatum their demand for immediate restoration of the Crimea's autonomy. Members of the central action group, as they style themselves, are unwilling to perceive today's realities. They are stubbornly unwilling to realize that the complete restoration of all the rights of Crimean Tatars involves the solution of a most complex range of economic, social, and political problems, and that it must take into account the legitimate interests of other peoples in our country. These people are trying to organize noisy rallies and demonstrations and are turning to Western anti-Soviet mass media for support; in short, they are using improper forms of pressure on the organs of power and are fanning unhealthy sentiments. Such methods hinder the consistent solution of our question. They run contrary to the interests of both Crimean Tatars and the whole Soviet people. Many war and labor veterans are present here. We all are honorably working for the prosperity of our socialist motherland, S. Tairov stressed. We are striving to play an active part in the revolutionary restructuring now under way in the country. It is my firm belief that we must, and will be able to, solve all the problems facing us only together with the party, the Soviet state, and all peoples in the country.

Speeches by labor veteran S. Omerov, Great Patriotic War veteran Kh. Osmanov, physicist R. Kadyyev from Samarkand, teacher R. Godzhenov from Tashkent, and others called for a decisive rebuff to those who are provoking nationalist hysteria and are pushing an irresponsible section of Crimean Tatars into unlawful and adventurist actions. They called for the rallying of all Crimean Tatars and for constructive cooperation with party and state organs in the solution of the nationality question.

Speakers criticized republican and local working commissions for insufficient activeness. Commission members spend little time among labor collectives and in places densely populated by Crimean Tatars, inadequately investigate questions concerning their working and social life, fail to actively rebuff extremist elements, and are ineffective in countering their provocative activity and demands.

The press was seriously reproached. Newspapers often publish material exposing so-called extremists but write very little and incomprehensibly about, for example, the activity of the working commissions themselves.

L. Kuchuk, Great Patriotic War veteran and commodity researcher from Chirchik, said that accurate information has still not been collected and published on the number of Crimean Tatars who fought against fascism in the Red Army's ranks, partisan detachments, and the underground. The names of many heroes who died for the socialist motherland are still unknown. Such a memorial book must be produced. It would become a powerful means of educating young people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

The time of restructuring demands broad and complete glasnost, it was emphasized at the meeting. Only an atmosphere of open discussion of all problems, including the most painful ones, can create prerequisites for their solution.

New Ukraine Supreme Soviet Deputies Elected

AU080910 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed "Announcement on the Election of Deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] In conformity with Article 57 of the Ukrainian SSR law "On election to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet," on Sunday 28 February 1988 deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet were elected in individual constituencies to replace the outgoing ones.

The following deputies were elected to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: Comrade Vladimir Romanovich Zhukov, Makeyevskiy Gorkom first secretary, for Makeyevskiy-Gornyatskiy constituency No 196 in Donetsk Oblast;

Comrade Igor Gennadiyevich Suntsov, electric fitter in the Leninskiy Komsomol mine under the "Aleksandiyaugol" coal mining association, for Aleksandriyskiy city constituency No 330 in Kirovograd Oblast;

Comrade Yevgeniy Vasilyevich Marmazov, Kirovograd Obkom second secretary, for Aleksandriyskiy constituency No 341 in Kirovograd Oblast;

Comrade Grigoriy Grigoryevich Nikitenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of the light industry, for Simferopolskiy constituency No 369 in Crimean Oblast;

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Borisenko, Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Statistics chairman, for Nesterovskiy constituency No 395 in Lvov Oblast;

Comrade Nikolay Timofeyevich Aleksa, administration chief and chief of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR, for Shiryayevskiy constituency No 454 in Odessa Oblast;

Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Sharygin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate in the Red Banner Order-Decorated Kiev Military District, for Reshetilovskiy constituency No 474 in Poltava Oblast;

and Comrade Galina Platonovna Platonenko, deputy director for scientific educational work at Cherkassko-Lozovskaya Secondary School in Dergachevskiy Rayon, for Dergachevskiy constituency No 554 in Kharkov Oblast.

History Analyzed With Documents, Not 'Prejudice'

AU081204 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 27 Feb 88 pp 2-3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. Hamretskyy, chief fellow of the History Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: "As One Loves One's Own Mother"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] **At present this man's name is known only to a few. It does not exist in encyclopedic publications. It is true that it has been mentioned in individual research works, but always with some negative epithets. Allegedly, the man erred, particularly on the nationality problem. But in fact he was dedicated to the cause of the revolution, spared neither effort nor health for it to triumph, and eventually he died for it. The man I mean was a fighter for the rule of the soviets in the Ukraine, a member of the first workers and peasants government, people's secretary for military affairs, a member of the Soviet Ukraine's delegation to the Brest peace talks, Vasyl Matviyovych Shakhray. The time has now come to analyze his activity on the basis of the documents and without prejudice.**

True enough, information about Vasyl Matviyovych is so scarce that his biography can only be outlined sketchily. The greater part of what I know about V.M. Shakhray and his personality was supplied by his wife Oksana Ivanivna, staff member of a Moscow library. She lived for 93 years, and cherished her husband's memory as sacred. [passage omitted]

When the Ukraine was occupied by the Kaiser's troops in conspiracy with the [Ukrainian national] Central Council, V.M. Shakhray, along with other Bolsheviks from Poltava, moved to Saratov. There he participated in revolutionary activities, and wrote two books: "The Revolution in the Ukraine" and (jointly with S. Mazlakh) "Against the Wave," in which he described the events which took place in the Ukraine in 1917 and in the spring of 1918. These books represent a kind of document offering a certain insight into the events of those stormy years. [passage omitted]

See how brilliantly and passionately V.M. Shakhray wrote: "We love Russia and the Ukraine, we love them as one loves one's own mother: The happiness and fortune of Russia and the Ukraine are our happiness and our fortune. Through them we love all mankind. A new Russia and a new Ukraine as equal sisters, as two free countries, two independent countries united by their common interests, by respect and consideration for each other—this is what we strive for, what we stand for, and what we call for." [passage omitted]

The sharp, controversial tone of the book "Against the Wave," the biting criticism of great-power chauvinism and of some party leaders in the Ukraine for underestimating the nationality problem were challenged by those to whom they applied. In March 1919 V. Shakhray and S. Mazlakh were expelled from the party. This decision

was provisional and formal. Neither author broke contact with the party, and they both continued their revolutionary activity. Shortly afterward, S. Mazlakh was reinstated in the party. [passage omitted]

As far as V.M. Shakhray is concerned, according to a report published in the journal of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks), LYETOPIS REVOLYUTSII, "he stayed in the revolutionary ranks at the time of Denikin's rule, worked in the underground in the Ukraine and then in the Kuban region, and there he was executed as a Bolshevik by the White Guards. Comrade V. Shakhray's expulsion would undoubtedly have been lifted, as was the punishment received by the other author of the book 'Against the Wave'." [passage omitted]

As a man—according to the evidence of his contemporaries—of a lucid analytical mind, of great oratorical skill, and a frank and honest man, V.M. Shakhray dedicated the whole of his short life to the cause of the socialist revolution, to the idea of brotherhood among peoples free from exploitation. His name should take a deserved place among fighters for the homeland's happiness and fortune.

Precautions in Expanding Nuclear Power Viewed

AU031541 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Feb 88 pp 3-4

[Questions from PRAVDA UKRAINY readers and television viewers of the Ukrainian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting asked by correspondents V. Makarenko and V. Sharov to A.L. Lapshin, USSR deputy minister of nuclear power generation; V.P. Tatarnikov, chief engineer at the All-Union Atomenergoproyekt Institute; corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V.S. Sidorenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety in the Nuclear Power Industry; V.G. Sokolovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environment Control; Doctor of Technical Sciences Ye.I.Ignatenko, director general of the "Kombinat" Production Association; and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences member and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences L.A. Ilyin [titles as published]: "Nuclear Power Industry in the Ukraine"—date and place of discussion not given]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] In working out and taking measures to increase the safety of nuclear power facilities, have alterations been made to designs to guarantee the complete safety and reliability of reactors?

A. Lapshin: The Chernobyl accident has been thoroughly analyzed. We have developed a comprehensive complex of measures guaranteeing that there will be no repetition of similar catastrophes in the future. [passage omitted]

[Question] These measures apply to all nuclear power stations in the country. But what specifically has been done at the Chernobyl AES?

Ye. Ignatenko: To guarantee complete safety at the Chernobyl AES, some changes have been made in the characteristic physical features of the fuel core and in the composition of the nuclear fuel used in the three reactors which are in operation. Let me emphasize that one of the most important safety guarantees lies in the increased high-speed response of the control systems. [passage omitted]

[Question] As is known, power blocks Nos 5 and 6 were under construction at the Chernobyl AES. Many correspondents ask: Will this construction be continued?

A. Lapshin: In the present programs for the development of power engineering in the Ukraine there is no mention of these blocks, and their commissioning has been removed from the agenda. The blocks have been mothballed to protect the installed equipment and structural parts which might be used for other purposes. As a matter of fact, a decision has been adopted not to build any more power blocks with RBMK-type reactors like those installed at the Chernobyl AES. The development of nuclear power engineering has been oriented toward the utilization of water-cooled reactors.

[Question] When the program for the construction of nuclear power stations in the Ukraine is implemented, our republic will assume a leading place in the total capacity of the country's power engineering enterprises. Why is it necessary to build nuclear power stations in such a densely populated region?

A. Lapshin: The level of electric power generating is determined by national economic needs. At the present time, the Ukraine annually consumes 260 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power. According to estimates made by specialists, by the year 2000 the republic will need considerably more kilowatts. How else can we meet the growing needs for power? [passage omitted]

[Question] To compensate for the growing power needs, we could build not nuclear, but, for example, thermal solid-fuel power stations and to bring in fuel from other regions of the country. We could utilize, let us say, coal from the Kuznetsk basin. Readers ask that this alternative be kept in mind.

A. Lapshin: For this purpose we would need about 50 million tonnes of coal a year. As a matter of fact, this figure exceeds the entire increase in Kuznetsk basin's coal output, which has already been distributed among consumers. [passage omitted]

[Question] Yet, have the plans for selecting sites for new nuclear power stations in the Ukraine been reviewed after the Chernobyl events?

A. Lapshin: Yes, they have. For example, we have given up the previously planned sites in the north of the republic, because they are located in the Dnepr basin, upstream from Kiev.

V. Sokolovskiy: The experts are now recommending new project sites far from large rivers or their large tributaries which, in an extreme situation, may be subject to radioactive pollution.

L. Ilyin: In working out additional conditions for locating nuclear power station sites, we specialists in the field of protection against radioactivity have significantly tightened up our requirements. After all, whereas technical specialists see safety problems in the light of technology and the reliability of equipment, our first and foremost duty is to watch the safety of the personnel and the population. I must say that the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation has fully complied with our requests.

[Question] Bitter experience shows that botching is a rather frequent phenomenon in the construction of facilities for nuclear power engineering. What has been done to remedy this situation?

V. Sidorenko: Here are a few facts reflecting the 1987 activity of the State Committee for Safety in the Nuclear Power Industry. They apply to all stages of control: planning, equipment production, construction, and the running of stations. Well, in all kinds of activities during that year there were 360 cases in which our experts ordered the suspension of operations. Deprivation of the right to run operations (we also have this authority) is an extreme measure. Nonetheless, this measure was applied to 214 leaders, and 25 of them were deprived of the right to run operations explicitly at nuclear power stations.

These figures are evidence of strict control over all stages of creating and exploiting nuclear power stations. They are also evidence that things are still a long way from being smooth in that highly complex branch.

[Question] The selection and distribution of cadres in the nuclear power industry has recently been subject to serious criticism. The growing number of nuclear power stations in the Ukraine also entails the growing need for specialists. How does the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Generation settle problems concerning the quality of training of specialists, while their number tends to grow?

A. Lapshin: We have taken serious care to provide cadres for the nuclear power industry: Concrete steps have been taken to radically improve and perfect the system of training personnel for nuclear power stations, and the necessary scientific research, training, and production base for this purpose is being created. [passage omitted]

[Question] Here is perhaps one of the most acute questions from our mail box. The situation which emerged immediately after the accident at the Chernobyl AES brought to light the defects and inadequacy of the system of responsibility that is split among various departments for adopting urgent and correct measures to fight calamity, to inform and evacuate people, and to protect the health of the population. Certainly, there is a need to settle definitely who will assume leadership and who, from the very first moment, will take upon himself responsibility for eliminating an—even if highly improbable—emergency situation at a nuclear power station?

L. Ilyin: This question is highly responsible. I would like to start with criticism. Long before the Chernobyl catastrophe, appropriate criteria and recommendations were worked out to protect the personnel and population from radiation in a possible emergency situation in a nuclear reactor. These elaborations were made as early as the sixties. They are at every nuclear power station, and were also available at the Chernobyl AES. Very unfortunately, many officials who were obliged to know their content by virtue of their activity did not have any idea about many provisions of our recommendations. There was a great deal of confusion in efficiently working out the radiation situation; in brief, confusion about what should have been attended to and by whom. All this aggravated the situation, which was complex anyhow. In the last analysis, the adopted decisions were correct, but a pause was caused by helplessness and by a reluctance to assume the responsibility of leadership. As you know, the conclusions drawn were strict, and concrete functions in emergency situations have been defined for all ranks. [passage omitted]

[Question] The debate on the republic's radio and television about the construction of a number of nuclear power stations, particularly in the Crimea, Chigirin, and Kharkov, is not subsiding. Has a definite decision been adopted on this subject?

A. Lapshin: Recently, V. Tatarnikov, myself, and other specialists were in Simferopol and, in a live television broadcast, we answered in detail all questions concerning the construction of a nuclear power station in the peninsula. I would like to emphasize that we have once again closely examined all the hydrogeological conditions and other natural factors of the site, the level of seismic effects, and other aspects connected with the creation of a closed recirculation water supply system at the nuclear power station. As far as the station's ecological cleanliness is concerned, we intend to build a sanatorium-dispensary belonging to the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation in the neighborhood; that is so say, there are reliable guarantees that the effects of the Crimean AES on the environment will come to nothing.

Now, about the Kharkov station. Our specialists are at present looking for a construction site around the city that meets all the requirements which were discussed today in detail. When the search is completed, the location of the construction site will, naturally, be in accordance with both local and republic-level organs.

The program to develop nuclear power stations also provides for a station in Chigirin. The site selected for its construction fully meets even the present more stringent requirements. However, the republic's people have expressed the wish to give up the idea of building a nuclear power station precisely in that area. Such an alternative was examined, and in principle it is feasible, under the condition that the Rovno, the Khmelnitskiy, and the South Ukrainian nuclear power stations increase their capacities to compensate, in the republic's overall power balance, for the capacity of the Chigirin AES.

[Question] Will arable lands within the 30-kilometer zone around the Chernobyl AES be recultivated?

Ye. Ignatenko: Last year we definitely got rid of the most polluted sectors in the zone. A vast area has been decontaminated. But a sector of 5-10 kilometers around the nuclear power station itself will remain closed for a long time. [passage omitted]

[Question] Hundreds of letters contain the same question: What is the present radiation situation in Kiev and in the Ukraine as a whole?

L. Ilyin: The following figures are characteristic of the general gamma background in Kiev: from 0.045 milliroentgen per hour in the left-bank districts, to 0.035 milliroentgen in the right-bank districts. These levels are absolutely safe. For comparison, let me tell you that the natural radioactive background in Kiev amounts to 0.02 milliroentgen per hour. [passage omitted] The All-Union Center for Radiation Medicine carried out a mass examination of the radiation situation in Kiev, Zhitomir, Gomel, Mogilev, and Bryansk Oblasts. Particular attention was paid to the effects of the long-lived radioactive isotope cesium-137 which, as a result of the Chernobyl accident, was and, in small quantities, is being absorbed by the inhabitants of the entire northern hemisphere. The absorbtion of cesium by the human organism fluctuates between 10 and 100 nanocuries. This is an insignificant quantity. [passage omitted] Thus, the objective assessment based on a thorough examination of the situation allows us to assert that there are no reasons to believe the rumors about dangerous radioactivity.

I would like to use this opportunity to call your attention to a rather important circumstance which bears relation to the degree of the population's confidence in similar statements made by scientists and specialists. The point is that people frequently accept negative assessments and invented facts with more confidence than positive facts.

A. Lapshin: I would say, more readily.

L. Ilyin: Exactly. What, then, is the matter? I think the answer is clear: The mass media—television, radio and the press—still pay very little attention to the nuclear power industry and the problems related with it. What they publish is frequently shallow, and amounts to general phrases. I call on the specialists to have an extensive dialogue with the public in the mass media on nuclear power engineering and radiation medicine. Only then will we be able to restore the people's shaken confidence in the nuclear power industry.

A. Lapshin: All the more so as the nuclear power industry continues to develop intensely all over the world. In various countries more than 400 nuclear power stations are now in operation, with about 150 more stations and 78 power blocks either under construction or planned for construction. Last year, 7 power blocks were put into operation in the United States, 4 in France, 1 in Canada, and so forth.

Thus, the world public, notwithstanding the Chernobyl accident, finds the development of the nuclear power industry both necessary and economical. But the Chernobyl events were a severe lesson for all, and measures for completely safe exploitation have been provided for at nuclear power stations, first of all in our country.

RSFSR Government Discusses Law, Economic Reform

PM071147 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its latest session the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined measures to boost the effectiveness of legal means in ensuring the republic's economic restructuring. Economic reform demands that the legal foundations of economic relations be consolidated. However, the clearing of the old normative base is procceeding extremely slowly in a number of the republic's ministries and departments. Many autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms are poorly coordinating and monitoring the execution of the new economic legislation.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium determined measures designed to improve legal backup for economic restructuring.

The Presidium also examined the question "On Additional Measures To Fulfill the Decisions of the Party and Government on Overcoming Drunkenness and Alcoholism" and adopted appropriate measures.

V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, chaired the session.

RSFSR First Deputy Premier Gets Order of Lenin

PM071021 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Decree issued by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Kremlin on 3 March]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the award of the Order of Lenin to Comrade F.A. Tabeyev

For services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and to mark his 60th birthday, Comrade Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, is awarded the Order of Lenin.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 3 March 1988.

MVD Officials View Effects of Antidrink Policy

PM081509 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p2

[Ye. Shestinskiy report: "The Problem Remains" under rubric "Press Conferences"]

[Text] A briefing on the problems of drunkenness and alcoholism was given for journalists at the USSR MVD on 29 February. The briefing was conducted by Militia Major General V. Ogorodnikov, first deputy chief of the USSR MVD Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration, and Militia Colonel V. Barkun, deputy chief of the same administation.

The general offensive against drunkenness has noticeably improved the statistical picture. In comparison to 1985, the number of transgressions of anti-alcohol legislation has been reduced by 5 million and the number of road and transport accidents caused by drunken drivers has fallen 14 percent. For the first time in the last 10 years average life expectancy has risen. The number of alcohol-related deaths has fallen by 52 percent in comparison to 1984 and the incidence of alcoholism has decreased 11 percent.

At the same time, work to eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism has slackened off recently and anti-alcohol measures are becoming increasingly one-sided, arbitrary, and administrative in nature. In many places systematic work is being substituted by short-lived campaigns, often without considering public opinion and the complexity of the problem. This, as noted at the briefing, has given rise to resistance from some people and enormous queues for alcohol.

One result of these unsystematic campaigns has been an increase in moonshining. More than 500,000 moonshiners have been penalized in the last year. A total of 3.6 million litres of home-brewed beer and moonshine, tonnes of sugar, and 167,000 different pieces of equipment have been confiscated.

The significant reduction in the number of alcohol stores coupled with poor organization of trade in those remaining has led to the artificial creation of an alcohol shortage. Apart from the lines with all the attendant consequences, this is leading to an increase in the abuse of toxic substances—particularly the use of various toxic surrogates. Last year several tens of thousands of people were poisoned in this way and more than 10,000 died. There are now 22,000 registered abuses of toxic substances.

Dismantled Ministry Results in Reallocations

PM071733 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Romanyuk article: "Whither the Ministry?"]

[Excerpts] The USSR Ministry of Machine Building for the Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances [Minlegpishchemash] was abolished by Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 1 March. [passage omitted]

Whither the ministry... After nearly 23 years the fine lilac building at 19 Presnenskiy Val is being transferred to the State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science. Its social facilities have been reallocated: the "Podmoskovye" boarding house is being transferred to "Prodmash" in Lyubertsy, "Sosnovaya Roshcha" (which in the winter is a boarding house and in the summer a camp) goes to "Mostochlegmash," and the young pioneers' camp in Yevpatoriya is being transferred to the Simferopol "Prodmash"...

The management structure of the national economy is being reorganized, all the dead wood is being cut off, and economic methods of management are being introduced. To be frank, the Minlegpishchemash, which was put together haphazardly, was never in the big league and was easy to criticize, even though everyone bore some responsibility. However, the strong social policy now existing increasingly exposed the irrelevance of this directive organ and of the entire system of directive levers and mechanisms.

I recall a recent session of the deputies' commission on the machine building complex. It discussed—for the umpteenth time!—the shortage of commercial refrigerators, meat, dough, and vegetable processing machines, pastry and jelly-making equipment, and equipment for wrapping or packing hulled crops, flour, salt, and confectionery. We have virtually no equipment here for fast-freezing currants, strawberries, cherries, and so forth. As a result we have 5 grams of frozen produce per capita whereas in the United States they have 12 grams...

It was 12.30 Friday afternoon and, as arranged, I was in the minister's waiting room. A conference was being held in the office. They were discussing the purchase of a license for the production of automatic ice cream cone-making machines. Public catering workers saw them at a

recent Italian exhibition in Moscow and asked for machines like that to be installed in every bar. At the end of the minister's desk I saw a mound of those very cones and next to them Soviet-made ice cream cups. Lev Borisovich turned them around in his hands then put them to one side.

"Well, if you need ice cream cones, make them on the production lines," he said, continuing a discussion that had begun. "Of course the production line is many times more productive than an automatic machine. We have that kind of equipment at one factory: The problem is that only 20 percent of its capacity is being used."

The question of the ministry's products mix is generally a sensitive one. Sometimes clients come from some exhibition with a suitcase full of information leaflets and must have everything! But where is the equipment capacity to come from—the proportion of the total amount is just 2.5 percent; and how is production to be developed dynamically using an old set of equipment? Looking involuntarily to the past, the minister couldn't help harking back bitterly to the time of mass purchases of foreign equipment. If, say, something could not be imported, the order went to... the Minlegpishchemash. And not always in areas which were within its remit.

Of course, foreign equipment was usually given preference. But how many of us don't know of cases when the sector's enterprises took decades to assimilate new items and the customer eventually received old-fashioned equipment? When the situation required that income and expenditure be taken into account, even the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, which was not very demanding toward new equipment, began to reject the outdated machines supplied to it in large quantities by the Minlegpishchemash. For example, it took more than 10 years to begin producing goods under a bought license. The customers could not wait for the product and had to buy 2,000 machines of the required type from abroad. The Melitopol "Prodmash" took 8 years to begin operating under license a non-alcoholic drinks bottling production line, having spent almost R8 million to that end with no production line to show for it. No wonder that some Minlegpishchemash enterprises were literally on the verge of bankruptcy.

"Lev Borisovich, the liquidation of the ministry marks a failure, doesn't it?" I said, unable to stop myself asking somewhat tactlessly.

"I wouldn't have said that. It is a question of a change of strategy. The sector must find a new place in the machine building system. If we followed the classic pattern, it would be necessary to draw up new plans, to build and equip plants, to assimilate a new standard of output, and to train skilled cadres. This takes at least 7-10 years. But we need results in 2-3 years. That is possible if you enlist technically advanced sectors in the solution of the problem. It has been 1 year now since the production of printing equipment was transferred to the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building: The Ministry of the Automotive Industry was instructed to buy a license and begin production of industrial sewing machines; the aircraft industry assumed the responsibility for knitting machinery. This process is now ending with the transfer of 260 Minlegpishchemash enterprises to 8 other ministries including defense ministries."

It is true that the ministry's old timers—I spoke with many of them—are very worried about who will coordinate the work of the plants, who will staff them, direct them, and give them instructions. The inertia of the old thinking also showed in their fears about how things will work without orders. It is as though the Law on the State Enterprise with its new rights for enterprises and its emphasis on their independence, initiative, and the reduction of directives from above had never been adopted. T. Morozova, chief engineer of the equipment administration who has worked for the ministry for 17 years, spoke with almost tender affection about the plants managed by the ministry.

"We developed those plants, we equipped them, we gave them their start in life," she said. "How will they get by in the future without us?"

I should like to think that they will "survive": A taste for initiative and independence has been aroused in many people. There is another alarming fact, however: A new directive apparatus is already beginning to take shape on the basis of the abolished ministry, although spread among eight other ministries, it is true. For example, an additional deputy minister's post is being introduced in each of the eight ministries. Some 500 members of the former Minlegpishchemash are being dispersed among other departments. In addition within a USSR Council of Ministers state commission a special department of over 20 people is being set up to coordinate and link all problems within this fairly complex mechanism. The department will be run by the commission's new deputy chairman with the rank of minister—my interlocutor Lev Borisovich Vasilyev. I am not going to guess whether this kind of restructuring will make it possible to quickly eliminate directive principles in management. The question of technical support from the sectors, which have considerable potential, is of course incidental...

I admit that when I went to the former ministry I expected to find perplexed people there. There was nothing of the kind, but then neither was there any special rejoicing. People had long known about the possibility of such an outcome but... somehow they didn't believe it would happen. But then it happened! But what actually happened? The ministry is being abolished but not its apparatus. The apparatus is experiencing a routine staff reduction, such as is happening everywhere. True, this process has to be speeded up now. But the remaining management "collective" is essentially just changing offices gradually—while retaining their salaries and posts.

"There is no feeling that anyone will be fired or discarded," Ye. Ovsyannikov, deputy minister for cadres, told me. "All those who have been laid off have been found jobs or have the choice of at least two options."

True, there is a choice. The sector's enterprises in Moscow have offered the former ministry's workers 200 vacancies—as designers, technologists, or foremen. But only a few opted for this: Some had lost interest in production, others had lost faith in their own ability. Just a few became planners or economists. N. Borisova, an economist, transferred to the services sphere—to a studio. A foreign relations management specialist opted for public catering—he went to a restaurant trust. A. Zakharchenko, a chief engineer at "Glavkultbyt," waved goodbye to the delights of the capital and accepted an offer to head the management of the "Prodmash" plant, the first enterprise in the sector cooperating with a foreign firm, which is being built in Volzhsk in the Mary ASSR.

Yu. Popov, equipment department chief, has on his desk under glass a list of his subordinates. Almost all the surnames have been crossed out—that means their future has been settled. Many have transferred from the administration to the state acceptance system. What about the administration chief himself? He hasn't reached that stage yet, someone still has to provide enterprises with the equipment allocated to them for 1988 and ordered for 1989. So that they do not go "naked" to their new ministries and so that they can defend their own interests at the USSR Gosplan, the Gossnab...

"I was offered the post of deputy chief of an administration of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry," G. Tarasov, acting chief of the Main Administration of Light Machinery Manufacture, said. "But the matter hasn't been finally resolved yet. I am hopeful..."

Many of the workers who are due to be transferred to other ministries are still in ignorance. "The questionnaires have been distributed, there has been talk, but nothing specific—everyone is in the dark."

People's fears are generally understandable. Instead of the usual work for the apparatus some will have to go into production: Some may prove to be unqualified for the post for which they are applying; and there are others who simply will not like the new working conditions. It is true that for 1 year everyone who has been transferred to another ministry retains his old salary. But what then? The question will be resolved by assessing the specialist's professional merits. But will the quality of the administrative work be different? Will he manage to relinquish his passion for writing unnecessary papers? Will people not be mechanically moved from one job to another?

It is no coincidence that many people in the former ministry are sincere, I think, in believing everything will be the way it was and do not believe this is anything more than the removal of a surplus or inefficient managerial tier—that an outmoded bureaucratic machine is being scrapped. It is a pity, of course, that elements of that machine are being recreated—and by no means the best. But it is good that the barriers separating sectors and departments are being dismantled.

How will people be starting their new lives?

I was walking through the silent building when suddenly I heard loud voices. I looked into the office of B. Markachev, Main Supply Administration deputy chief. There is no room to turn around between the piles of documents in the small room. Yet there I found two people dispatched from the "Elektrobytmash" plant in Rostov—deputy director V. Romanenko and supply department chief O. Klimenko. They had come to protest against a clearly overstated plan for the delivery of secondary nonferrous metals and arrived at this inopportune time.

"Their plan is unrealistic," Markachev agreed. "We knew about this before and intended to rectify it during the year—by making economies elsewhere. But now it is necessary to resolve the question in conjunction with the ministry to which the plant is being transferred. In general, as you can see, there is a great deal of work to be done. We are here until late every day, including Saturday, sometimes even Sunday..."

I took my leave. But the men from Rostov caught me up in the corridor and began saying the opposite: that for 2 days now they had been hanging around in the ministry, the matter wasn't being settled and it didn't seem as though it would. I asked: Why did you accept such a plan? It seems they had slipped it in late in the year and, as always, on the spur of the moment. They had promised to put everything right in the second quarter, admittedly. But there was no second quarter for the ministry.

"But Markachev promised to settle the question," I said, trying to reassure the two from Rostov.

"What do you mean? He gave you a promise but he sent us to the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of the Radio Industry. The same old merry-go-round. They send you to the deputy minister, the former deputy..."

So if the present deputy minister does not manage to solve matters you have to pin your hopes on his predecessor... Surely people should be thinking about the future.

TASS Journalists Attend Moscow Seminar 1-3 Mar
PM070943 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "TASS Journalists' Conference"]

[Text] The news and propaganda tasks of TASS journalists in the second stage of restructuring were discussed at an all-union conference-seminar in Moscow 1-3 March.

Those taking part were leaders of republic news agencies, RSFSR branches of TASS, and own correspondents and photojournalists in the RSFSR.

The conference was addressed by Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; S.A. Losev, general director of TASS; M.V. Barbarich and F.P. Senko, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; A.I. Milyukov, leader of a group of consultants of the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department; V.M. Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; and leaders of the editorial offices of the newspapers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. There was a detailed discussion of ways to increase the propaganda effectiveness of TASS materials in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and developing glasnost and democracy in the interests of socialism. The correspondents exchanged work experience.

Editor Describes New TASS Magazine Format
PM021101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Planet Between Magazine Covers"]

[Text] The illustrated sociopolitical magazine EKHO PLANETY is getting ready to meet its readers. We asked Chief Editor N.K. Setunskiy to tell us what the TASS and the USSR Union of Journalists mass-circulation weekly will be like.

Our magazine, whose first issue will reach subscribers and newsstands on 2 April, he said, will cover topical problems in international life. When considering the concept of the publication, we proceeded from the premise that it must have a "look of its own"—without that you cannot enter the contemporary newspaper and magazine market.

EKHO PLANETY's main advantage is the broad network of TASS correspondents abroad, which embraces 125 countries. This will largely determine the character of the pieces in the magazine, most of which must be marked by what is called in journalism "immediacy." Genres like the feature story, reportage, interviews, and travel notes will be widely represented in the weekly. In other words, it will be as full as possible of information obtained straight from "primary sources," at the scene of events. Facts refracted through the prism of the author's personal perception and reflecting his observations, views, and experience will be the magazine's "hallmark." I stress this particularly because a particular stereotype has taken shape in readers' minds: They see TASS-bylined reports as a reflection of the official viewpoint. Incidentally, about bylines. Our magazine's creator—the USSR Union of Journalists—and we intend to present to readers the best works from the entire field of journalism. Moreover, not only domestic, but also foreign journalism. While exposing the machinations of militarist forces and rebuffing anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, at the same time we will acquaint our readers with our ideological adversaries' position. There is no doubt that Soviet people can themselves, without "prompting," properly assess their views.

Former Classmate Describes 'Dangerous' Gorbachev
PM071635 London THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 6 Mar 88 p 23

[Report on interview with Soviet emigre Fridrikh Neznanskiy by Martin Ivens: "How Gorbachev 'Grassed' His Way to the Top"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev is a very dangerous man to do business with, says a Russian Emigre who was at university with the Soviet leader. Fridrikh Neznanskiy, a fellow law student at Moscow University, in an exclusive interview with THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, paints a highly unflattering portrait of the young "Red Tsar", who now has a better popularity rating in West Germany than President Reagan.

According to Neznanskiy, who studied alongside him for several years in the early 1950s, Gorbachev was hated and feared by his contemporaries for the very good reason that he was the university "stoolie". The future General Secretary of the Communist Party acted as a Secret Police informer, sacrificing his colleagues to smooth his way to power. Neznanskiy also shows Gorbachev to be a man who can nurse a grievance. Thwarted at this early stage of his political career by a student rival, he exacted a terrible vengeance years later.

The first biographical details about Gorbachev issued by the Soviet news agency TASS when he attained supreme power were painfully brief about his early life. Readers were told merely that the new leader was born "into a peasant family". And few months later, a nine-page Biographical Outline contained few major revelations.

It is common practice for Soviet officials to hush up details of their private lives—sometimes the public only finds out that a party leader has been married by reading his obituary in PRAVDA. Neznanskiy's account therefore helps to fill some of the gaps.

But we do know that Gorbachev was born of Russian parentage in the village of Privolnoye ("Liberty" in English) near Stavropol in the Caucasus on March 2, 1931. Nineteen years later, having failed to qualify for a science course, young Mikhail enrolled as a law student at the Moscow State University. Fridrikh Neznanskiy had already been there a year.

There were three classes of students at the law faculty: "demobilised servicemen, those straight from school and those like Gorbachev who worked before they studied," says Neznanskiy. When Gorbachev first arrived at the university, proudly sporting his "Red Banner of Labour Group" decoration in his lapel, the Soviet Union was in the grip of Joseph Stalin's last paranoid campaign of terror against his imagined enemies, which culminated in the so-called "Doctors' Plot". Gorbachev, a convinced Stalinist, was therefore a dangerous young man to cross.

Neznanskiy points out that Gorbachev's Secret Police contacts had already been established. This alliance was to prove fruitful throughout his career. "We were very frightened of him. He was secretary of the Komsomol (the youth wing of the Communist Party). Everyone knew he organised files on all the other Komsomol members for the KGB." Gorbachev passed on personal titbits about "the political unreliability" of his fellows to the Secret Police, which led to their expulsion from the university.

One of the least fortunate of Mikhail's victims was Vitaliy Kravchenko. Gorbachev got wind of the fact that he was the grandson of L.V. Kamenev, one of Stalin's greatest rivals, who was later "liquidated" in the purges of the 1930s. Kravchenko was shopped to the Secret Police, expelled from the university and imprisoned. But Gorbachev was not the only young political hack on the make in Moscow. Two separate faculties of law were being merged in the university, which inevitably meant that their two Komsomol branches would also be united. Gorbachev obviously wanted to rule the new, larger roost, but Nikolay Kondratenko, his opposite number in the equivalent Komsomol branch and a former soldier, had other ideas.

"Gorbachev did not have the political muscle then," says Neznanskiy. "Kondratenko was older and had contacts in the regional party. Well, Ovanesov, the chairman, and Bubintsov, the party secretary, they had a little perestroika (restructuring) all of their own. At a party meeting they ensured Kondratenko had a majority, not Gorbachev."

It was no coincidence that following this setback Gorbachev left the Soviet capital to return to the comparative obscurity, if not ignominy, of his native Stavropol region. "If he had stayed at Moscow Gorbachev could have become head of the Law Faculty—which is what Kondratenko eventually became," says Neznanskiy. An everyday story of student politics? But that was not the end to the rivalry between these former classmates. An old score would eventually be settled.

Kondratenko's fate was sealed when in quick succession the Soviet leaders Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko died, paving the way for Gorbachev's accession. The following year, 1986, the eminent head of the Law Faculty, equivalent to a Regius Professor, was accused of accepting bribes from parents who wanted their children to be enrolled in the university. "It was a glass-holder (Russian slang for a trumped-up charge)," says Neznanskiy.

He was held for a year in the Butyrka prison in isolation and tortured to make him confess to the charge. The question is whether Gorbachev did it? "I think either Gorbachev gave the instructions directly or it was done by people who wanted his favour by sucking up to him.

"In fact I wrote about this case (in the Russian emigre journal POSSEV, which is smuggled into the Soviet Union by activists of the underground democratic party, the Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS)."

Ironically, Kondratenko was then saved by Gorbachev's own glasnost policy. Academic staff at the university plucked up courage to protest to the authorities at his imprisonment. Party bosses were worried that the background to the story would come out. "The case was looked at again," says Neznanskiy. "His sentence of eight years was changed to three years suspended. The Russian Soviet Socialist Republic court then released him. It shows he (Gorbachev) is no longer a Stalin but he still has very wide powers."

Neznanskiy himself became head of the Criminal Investigation Department in Moscow and conducted the inquiry into the bombing on the Moscow Underground in 1971 which was blamed on Armenian terrorists but was in fact committed by disaffected children of Communist Party officials. In this capacity he also saw in intimate detail how corruption and racketeering had spread among the highest echelons of the party all the way to the Brezhnev family.

His fictionalised account of this sordid saga, Red Square, became a bestseller in the West. His next book will deal with the Moscow Underground bomb case. Neznanskiy left the Soviet Union in 1977, before Gorbachev's rise to power (he has since lived in the USA). Their paths had never crossed since university.

Cost Objections to Renaming Cities Questioned

PM071419 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian
27 Feb 88 p 7

[Letter from Academician D. Likhachev under the rubric "Readers' Suggestions, Protests, Polemics": "Why are the Citizens Against It?"]

[Text] On 30 January SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, under the rubric "Glasnost Stops Rumors," carried a brief announcement headed "The Citizens Were Against It." What were the citizens against? Of what city were they "citizens?" Apparently, the people of the city of Gorkiy are against the restoration of the historic name Nizhniy Novgorod—the name by which the city made a wide impact on Russian history.

I have strong links with Gorkiy and its people and I know perfectly well the citizens of Gorkiy are wholeheartedly in favor of the reinstatement of the old name. What got into the city soviet deputies when, to the surprise of all the citizens of Gorkiy, they voted to keep Gorkiy as the name of the city? Apparently, it was very simple: The deputies had been told it would cost R50 million to restore the historic name. Yes, 50, not 49 and not 51: a precise estimate.

But the breakdown of this sum remains vague and debatable. Do you, in fact, when restoring the city's historic name, have to rename the Gorkiy Truck Plant and call it the Nizhniy Novgorod Truck Plant? Is it necessary to go and change all the maps? What is so bad about many enterprises continuing to carry Gorkiy's name? It is quite incomprehensible why people should have to exchange their identity cards for new ones. Perhaps someone was imagining the days when portraits had to be removed, signs changed, and even textbooks and notebooks pulped and so forth when a particular figure was declared an "enemy of the people." It certainly did cost millions in those cases.

If we adopt that kind of approach to reinstating historic names, then no city and no village will be able to get its old name back.

The people who estimate it will cost millions to restore historic names are right about only one thing. If you are restoring one name, you must also restore them to several other cities, for example, Tver, Rybinsk, Petergof... I do not intend to tackle the whole issue. A commission of linguists, historians, regional experts, and writers will have to do some serious work on the reinstatement of old names. Then expenditure on making (or, rather, printing) new train, steamship, and aircraft timetables will be reduced by one-half, two thirds, three-fourths—depending on the number of places being renamed. It will not be necessary to redo timetables every time an old name is reinstated. It must be done all at once.

In certain cases the return of old names has to happen because people must be able to see history on the modern map. After all, you have a situation where many people do not even know that the Nizhniy Novgorod militia, which saved Russia, was actually in their city, that the celebrated Petergof Fountains are now called the Petrodvorets Fountains, and the city which was defended along with Leningrad—Shlisselburg—is now called Petrokrepost.

I very much doubt whether the Gorkiy City Soviet deputies actually did a comprehensive study of the matter that is currently bothering all the inhabitants of Gorkiy, as Ye. Abramov wrote in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and verified the need for all the expenditure connected with restoring Gorkiy's historic name. They were simply presented with the question: reinstatement of the old name or a new residential district with comfortable apartments. But the question cannot be presented in that way, just as the renaming cannot be seen as an insult to our great writer M. Gorkiy. The main street in our main city, Moscow, is named for Gorkiy and our best theaters, schools, culture centers, and parks repeat over and over the name Gorkiy, Gorkiy, Gorkiy... It occurs more often than Pushkin and Tolstoy. One must remember Aleksey Maksimovich Peshkov was unhappy about being presented with the "gift" during his lifetime, but was unable to publicly contradict Stalin. To be unhappy about an honor bestowed on him by the "father of the peoples" was by no means a safe thing to be.

So let us not believe the rumors about expenditure of millions of rubles, but return in earnest to the question of reinstating historic names.

Zamyatin's Previously Banned 'We' To Appear

PM031521 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 28 Feb 88 p 11

[Yevgeniy Barabanov article: "Prediction or Warning? Keeping Up With the Times or the Fate of a Book. Comments on the Coming Publication of Zamyatin's 'We'"]

[Text] Some readers will refuse to believe the reports to the effect that Yevgeniy Zamyatin's novel "We" will soon be published in the magazines "Nauka i Religiya", "Znaniye-Sila" and "Znamya". Why should they refuse to believe it? Well, the novel has been banned for nearly 70 years, and suddenly we are being allowed to read this terribly dangerous book. Joking aside, why did it take so long?

Background [subhead]

Zamyatin wrote the novel We in 1920, at the age of 36, when he was considered "one of our finest writers of fiction". Zamyatin participated in the 1905 Revolution, was arrested, served a sentence in solitary confinement, was exiled. Later on he studied shipbuilding at the Polytechnic Institute, and in 1916 he went to England to supervise the construction of icebreakers for Russia. In Spetember of 1917, he returned to Russia and lectured on engineering and technical aspects of creative writing.

Zamyatin had published several stories before he wrote We. The ads of various publishing houses and magazines in the early 1920s announced a "soon-to-be-published" novel by Zamyatin, We. However, not one of the advertised editors of the novel appeared. Zamyatin's novel was not published in Russian in full during his lifetime.

We first appeared in an English translation (New York, 1924). Through the efforts of the noted linguist Roman Yakobson it appeared in Czech (Prague, 1927). Finally, with Ilya Ehrenburg's mediation, it was published in French (Paris, 1929). After Zamyatin's death, the novel was translated into all the major European languages.

The literary circles of Leningrad and Moscow in the early 1920s were very familiar with the novel: Zamyatin often read it before gatherings of writers and critics. This fact accounts for extensive reviews of the unpublished We in periodicals of the time. There were debates and controversies about the novel. In 1929-31, reviewers of the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP) reduced all assessments to a simple condemnation: "Anti-Soviet slander".

Twelve years after he wrote We, Zamyatin explained its meaning thus: "Myopic reviewers saw in the work nothing more than a political pamphlet. This is of course wrong: this novel is a warning about the danger to the individual and to humanity posed by excessively powerful machines and government—wherever. Americans, who wrote a lot about the New York edition of my novel several years ago, saw quite reasonably in this mirror their own Fordism. Very curiously, in his latest novel Brave New World, the well known English author Aldous Huxley develops nearly the same ideas and situations contained in We. This is, of course, a coincidence. But this coincidence indicates that these ideas are all round us in pre-storm air we are breathing."

Why Anti-Utopia? [subhead]

It is appropriate to return to the old debate: what is Zamyatin's novel all about really?

The surest way to find the answer is to restore the historical and literary context. Zamyatin's We has its roots in Plato's Republic, Hobbes' Leviathan, Swift's Gulliver's Travels, the fantastic and philosophical novels of H.G. Wells and sure enough in Ugryum-Burcheyev's project "on the combining of the idea of conformity with the idea of general happiness" from Saltykov-Shchedrin's The Tale of a Town. Yet another and perhaps the most important influence is the novel's pronounced dependence on the Russian literary theme specially evident in Dostoyevskiy's Notes from Underground, The Dream of a Ridiculous Man and The Grand Inquisitor. This theme concerns the humaneness of human beings at the "height of their development", the integrity of their moral and spiritual world, their readiness to fight for their freedom, their dignity and their urge for the forbidden in the face of compulsory happiness.

This is precisely what Zamyatin's novel—a social fantasy or, as they say today, a negative utopia or anti-utopia—is about. His novel, set in an unidentified country in the 28th century, is just one of the possible future scenarios—given today's utopian consciousness. Zamyatin suggests that utopian images, if they control collective consciousness completely could bring humanity to an anthropological disaster, a total degradation that is irreversible.

Dostoyevskiy, sentenced to hard labour for writing similar utopian fantasies, resolutely protested against the very basis of utopian logic: "The comprehension of life is higher than life, the knowledge of laws of happiness is higher than happiness—that's what should be fought against!" Zamyatin's novel continues this struggle for the individual.

Every utopia is aimed at making changes: by projecting the image of a better future, it naturally represents an indirect criticism of the present. Zamyatin didn't write a satirical utopia (like, for example, Mayakovskiy's "THE BATH"). He wrote an anti-utopia primarily because indirect criticism of certain "errors", "oversights" and "excesses" didn't seem radical enough to him since it tacitly excludes criticism of the utopian consciousness itself, lives off myths a bout a "golden age",

Diary of 'No D-303' [subhead]

In the early 20s, one of the myths fostering utopian visions of the coming paradise was the myth about technology's omnipotence. Advocates of his naturalistic, hence anti-historical myth, regarded history as just an accumulation of "progressive elements" which eventually transform life into a perfect order as inevitable as the current imperfect order.

It is this myth, thoroughly examined by Zamyatin, that underlies the high-tension artistic dialiectics of the novel We. Involved in the collision between the visionary plan and real life are the finite and infinite, entropy and energy, happiness and freedom, the mechanical and the organic—they are both the essence of a philosophy and the novel's vitial fabric. Ideas in Zamyatin's novel (in Dostoyevskiy's tradition) are heroes just like the characters—they are engaged in covert or overt confrontation, in heated debate.

The novel describes a society in which the citizens have no names and are known by number only. When the reader learns that No D-303 keeps a diary it becomes plain that the "number" is heading for trouble. D-303 is doomed to choose between freedom and compulsory happiness, between love and a rationally planned sex life, between creative imagination and the dogmas of the only correct doctrine. Unlike real life, the utopian scheme is strictly either—or: it doesn't allow for different choices or decisions. One can be either an individual or a "number", a soul that absorbs the world and is thus made vulnerable or a cold mirror. It's a choice between life in all its complexity and beauty and the eternal happiness of the multiplication table, between the "impudent warbling of the nightingale" and the cheerful marching music and "daily odes for the Benefactor".

In the utopian dreams of a mathematical formula for sure-fire happiness, the principal and unavoidable hindrance is man. Hence the compelling urge for uniformity, for the bureaucratization and centralization of power, for a Benefactor (the wisest among the "numbers"), for omniscient protectors against all delusions, for the replacement of question marks with exclamation marks,

for the exhaustive regimentation of life, and lastly for the isolation of the ideally correct world from the queer world of trees, birds and animals.

So the inmates of this transparent world apart are blissfully happy in the knowledge that there is only one truth and only one path to the truth, that the truth is two times two, and that the path to the truth is four. Wouldn't it be absurd for the happily and ideally multiplied twos to start thinking about some sort of freedom, i.e., clearly a mistake? Isn't it obvious that to assume the "I" has any rights vis-a-vis the state is the same as assuming one gram equals a ton. Hence someone who weighs a ton has all the rights, while someone who weighs a gram has all the duties. The only way for a nonentity to sense his or her importance is "to forget that you are a gram and realize that you are a millionth part of a ton". Those who cannot bring themselves to forget the "I"—who try to break down the wall of compulsory happiness and find their own way—are submitted to a simple surgical operation that removes their faculty of imagination. After the operation, they are perfect, uniform, and on their way to total happiness.

Letter to Stalin [subhead]

In 1929 the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP) attempted once again to bring all literature in this country under its control. Using the slogan "purge the writers" it launched a frontal attack against the Writers Union, many of whom had begun writing before the Revolution. The Union was charged with loss of "political face" and "loss of vigilance". How else could you explain the presence among the executives of the Union's Leningrad branch of such an "enemy" as Zamyatin who published his novel in a foreign magazine? The charges degenerated into a campaign and then into all-out persecution. The author's objections went unconsidered, unheard. The newspapers and magazines were inundated with epigrams, quips, satires, letters expressing indignation over "Zamyatin's transgression", and demands for a public apology. People who had never read the novel called for "the stiffest punishment". Zamyatin was called a variety of names, ranging from "class enemy" to "kulak", to "philistine", to "dyed-in-the-wool reactionary", to "diehard", to "spy".

In the fall of 1929 Zamyatin sent a letter to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and to the Council's Administrative Office: "The resolutions of the Moscow and Leningrad boards of the Writers Union passed, let's state it plainly, under external pressure—demand that I 'renounce the ideas' expressed nine years ago in the novel We. What is done, what exists, I cannot declare to be non-existent.

"I've been warned about the consequences by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: 'Should Ye. Zamyatin arrogantly persist in his mistakes, the last links connecting him with the Soviet public will be severed. Ye. Zamyatin should understand the simple idea that a country building socialism can do very well without such a writer.' I understand this simple idea. I understand that unless the prevailing views of literature change or I myself change, I am not wanted in Soviet Russia or in Soviet literature. Quite obviously, staying on here under the circumstances would mean my end as a writer, i.e., silence. I trust I don't deserve capital punishment and there are some things—at least in my past—that provide grounds for mitigating such a sentence. So once again I am urgently requesting you to permit me and my wife to go abroad for one year. I am not going to engage in political activities, I only want to continue my life as an author."

Two years later after having turned with the same request to Stalin, Zamyatin left the country.

In his letter to Stalin, Zamyatin said he would come back "as soon as it becomes possible for literature to serve big ideas without having to cringe before little men, as soon as there is at least a partial change in how the role of the writer is viewed. That time, I am sure, is at hand because, once the material base been created, the question will inevitably arise of building a superstructure—art and literature—really worthy of the Revolution".

Zamyatin died in Paris on March 10, 1937.

Economic

Academician on 1965, Present 'Neglected' Economy
PM081611 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 1

["Economist's Notes" by P. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under rubric "Pace. Quality. Thrift": "Immoderate Moderation"]

[Text] While implementing the economic reform, we are looking increasingly intently and frequently back at 1965. Are the ventures of that time akin to the present ones, how do they differ, and what lessons must be drawn from that policy of 20 years ago of changes in national economic management?

In my view, the situation then marked a turning point away from a time when the shortcomings of officious, strong-arm economics were concealed by the effect of enthusiasm to a time when we were only beginning to work in the way the economic mechanism taught: lazily, indifferently, complacently. In short, the fundamental flaws of the existing management system had not yet emerged glaringly. Therefore it seemed only cosmetic repairs were needed. But not many people thought even this. The majority considered the changes excessive or evaluated them as steps for the worse. Under those conditions even desires for modest changes exceeded the existing average norm of boldness and were stigmatized and rejected.

It was under those conditions that the 1965 economic reform was proclaimed. I would even call it an improvement which was possible without reform, if what you mean by this is a response to the full, uncurtailed needs of society.

What changed? First, the number of directive targets was reduced within the framework of the former economic mechanism—there were fewer of them—but they did not alter the old structure in principle. Enterprises remained bound hand and foot, it was just that there were fewer (but thicker) ropes. Profit was rehabilitated somewhat within the limits of that same model of economic management. More profit stayed at the local level, but strictly in accordance with central plans and not with the earned income. That did not rule out redistributive withdrawals and receipts or the omnipotence of the state budget. There was no question of any self-financing. On the contrary, it was identified with anarcho-syndicalism and was considered incompatible with socialism (just like its adherents, incidentally). Wholesale trade was seen as an appendage to the rationed distribution of means of production. The preservation of supercentralization ruled out the very formulation of the question of full production and social democracy.

So the first flaw of the 1965 reform was immoderate moderation. Its second flaw was its uncomprehensive, inconsistent, contradictory nature. It was announced, for example—and this was the only component worthy of being called revolutionary—that incentive funds must depend on the profitability norm. On the norm, not on the percentage of plan fulfillment, which had ruled the roost prior to that. But nothing came of that either. To be answerable for profitability, collectives had to secure the right to influence it. They did not secure it, since it would have then been necessary to change the methods of centralized management and go over to economic control. It was also necessary to reform prices—to switch them from a cost basis to a cost-cutting one. They did not do so.

The third defect: The reform, which included half-cocked, incompatible economic structures which created an unviable economic hybrid, did not meet with proper enthusiasm. True, there was an upsurge, but the breeze which it created did not sweep away conservative forces. Even though those forces were not particularly worried, for nothing dangerous was threatening them, they nonetheless crushed supporters of innovations.

Of course, for all its limited nature, the reform injected a dose of new blood into the economy and improved its health to some extent: The results of the Eighth 5-Year Plan were the best of all the previous and the subsequent 5-year plans. It showed the potential strength of economic methods of management. But what then? Then those achievements were not linked with the reform but still further intensified the atmosphere of indifference and helped...to abandon the new measures. Everything returned to its former state.

The economy is now more neglected and sick than it was 20 years ago. It is necessary to do more or less what was not done then. Only [this time to do it] by surmounting the increased difficulties, and more quickly, for time has long been in extremely short supply.

Let us look more closely at the present situation. To judge by the adopted party and state documents, the present reform is systematic and comprehensive, although not of equal strength. Great aims give rise to great energy. The shock army of restructuring has arisen and is growing. Nothing will halt the process, the need for which is long due and even overdue. Nothing will halt it, although it could slow it down. For antirestructuring forces have not only not disappeared, but have intensified. Conservative forces have rightly perceived the collapse of their undeservedly lofty position in the radical nature of the reform. The erstwhile opponents of innovations have "balked." They have now changed their tactics to "acceptance." They all seem to be "in favor," the machinery hums, and the reform has extensively embraced a large part of the economy, but the proper effect is missing. This is because the innovations have been thickly mixed with the repainting of facades, while preserving the old mechanism in essence. It was no coincidence that the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum particularly emphasized that plainly inadequate use is still being made of the great new potential and broad rights. Thus, the chief factors of success—radicalness and comprehensiveness—are once again growing weaker, and interest is fading.

The profound transformations have given birth to a new and incomparably more massive opponent. Sectional, insular knowledge prevents action strictly in the spirit of the concept of reform. The old thinking of several generations of managers cannot be replaced by Soviet management style in a single hour. Cowardice and fear of risk and failures are also a hindrance. We fine almost no one for moving too slowly, only for moving too fast. So we encourage braking.

The chief thing now is to carry out what is planned. But carry out what? General guidelines or instructions? Carry them out how? Punctiliously, or by renewing and sweeping aside ones which have not justified themselves? In principle, the answers to these questions are clear. In practice, however, the implementation of the reform is encountering serious obstacles.

An Uzbek proverb says: If the top button is buttoned incorrectly, then the rest are also wrong. Such a top button is the inadequacy of the present economic accountability [khozraschet]. A collective which works better is not encouraged—the state budget takes the "excess." A collective which works badly still does not

feel the pressure of worthless results. People readily justify this order (or, rather, disorder) by saying that such ratios of distribution of proceeds are laid down in the 5-year plan.

But let us get away from this dogma. Enterprises of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building have proved that the 5-year plan is no obstacle to restructuring. They pay into the state budget and to the ministry taxes of a kind, which amount to approximately 50 percent of the profit. Why not make wider use of their experience?

Taxes are still used hardly anywhere in the state sector. They have not even been elaborated, although the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) provides for their introduction. Thus, the real stimulating significance of economic accountability is diminishing, and there is continuing hidden redistribution of means from collectives which work well to bad ones, supplemented by open extortion and injections from centralized funds and ministries' reserves.

But if economic accountability does not force collectives to work at full capacity, the broad rights given to enterprises can be used to make "life" easier again, to understate plans and overstate claims on the state's pocket. To prevent this, a measure has been taken which reminds you of the second incorrectly fastened button: The directive nature of control figures and of all the former state targets, which have been renamed state orders, has been preserved.

The stream of formal innovations has not been confined to this. Whereas previously material resources were chiefly supplied by the Gossnab directly to consumers, they are now supplied more to territorial supply bases, which pass them on to enterprises "without funds." Voices are to be heard saying that supply through direct ties must be considered trade. However, trade is supply in return not for ration cards but for money.

Labor remuneration is society's most sensitive economic nerve. Until it derives directly from results, incentives will have no say. Unfortunately, wages are now determined chiefly by last year's wages fund, which was based on an overstated table of organization. Money from ministry reserves is added to them. The result is that someone who works well once again earns little. Progressive experience of labor remuneration—experience oriented toward the present, not the past, and accumulated by several of the country's enterprises—is being disseminated at a snail's pace.

The pricers in turn promise good prices. But the facts give cause for concern. They propose to calculate the new prices by adding the normative percentage of profit to the normative prime cost. This means growth in materials-intensiveness and other costs will, again, still be encouraged, and the price will still be cost-based. It is a thoroughly bad thing that it stems from an analogue that was created and handled previously in the same cost-based key. It is even recommended to base contract prices on analogous products. Or, if there are no such things, to base them on "economically substantiated production and marketing costs," as well as on the prime cost not exceeding its planned level.

Having analyzed this, you cannot help concluding: "Laws are holy, while executors are evil foes." This is what threatens the radical reform most of all. And, in my view, it threatens it no less than in 1965. If not more.

Scientific

1988 Space Research Program Plans Launches

LD090953 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 9 Mar 88

["USSR—SPACE Research Program for 1988"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—The Institute of Space Studies under the Soviet Academy of Sciences is mounting an all-out assault on the enigmas of the universe.

"Our program of experiments for 1988 provides for a series of space launches," Vyacheslav Balebanov, the institute's deputy director, told TASS.

"The first two will come in July under the international Phobos project which involves eleven nations and the European Space Agency along with the Soviet Union. The probes will study Mars and its moon Phobos and also the Sun and interplanetary medium."

Balebanov said an astrophysics observatory called Gamma-1 and featuring a 1.5-ton telescope for studying the gamma radiation of remote celestial bodies in the universe will be lifted off late in 1988.

The project, involving the USSR, Poland and France, will aim to obtain the Gamma-ray imagery of these sources of radiation, locate them with high accuracy and analyse the nature of their emissions, the scientist continued.

"X-ray radiation originates in the 'furnace of atomic and nuclear conversions' occurring in space under temperatures of at least half a million degrees.

"By comparison, visible solar light is emitted by a surface heated to just 5,500 degrees. The x-ray band thus makes it possible to observe the 'stormier' developments in the universe, which are of particular interest to science," he explained.

Another astrophysics observator to the blasted off, Granat, will be used to study x-ray and gamma-ray emissions from the depths of the universe. The project has been designed by Soviet, Bulgarian, Danish and French scientists, Balebanov said.

He added that Gamma-1 and Granat will stay in near-earth orbit for several years.

The scientist explained that studies of X-ray, gamma-ray and some other kinds of radiation invisible to the named eye help appreciably increase the body of knowledge about the universe, but since they are absorbed by the upper layers of the atmosphere, instruments to trap and study them should be deployed in space.

The Intercosmos program, maintained by European socialist countries, provides for launching a satellite of the AUOS series this year for conducting a so-called active wave plasma experiment for the first time.

AUOS is the Russian acronym for an unmanned guided orbiting station.

The satellite will carry an electromagnetic generator emitting energy into space, which should cause local distrurbances in plasma in the magnetic field of Earth.

The aim of the experiment will be to simulate plasma processes taking place under the impact of solar energy flows and thus obtain new data about the sun-earth relationship, in particular the mechanisms of converting solar energy reaching earth.

Balebanov said that his institute is preparing, in cooperation with Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, to launch also a second research module to dock with the Mir orbiting platform which is currently manned by two cosmonauts.

The module will be used for studying the surface of earth and its seas and oceans as well as the atmosphere and for solving a number of problems related to geophysics and astrophysics.

New Helicopter for Arctic Flights Described

LD042340 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tests have started on the new KA-32S helicopter in Murmansk. The helicopter, designed for work in the Arctic, differs from its predecessor, the MI-2, both in size and technical features. The helicopter's equipment will allow it to make accurate landings on ships. Should one engine fail, the helicopter can safely continue its flight. The helicopter's computer can recommend a safe passage through the ice to ships on the northern sea route. It can carry a suspended weight of 5 tonnes, dropping it onto a ship or picking it up from any ship. There are 15 seats for passengers. A pilot, interviewed form his cockpit, says the results of tests have been fine. The first flight to the Arctic is planned at the end of March or beginning of April on the atomic powered vessel "Rossiya". Operations testing in Arctic conditions will take place.

Nuclear Icebreaker Begins Sea Trials

PM081325 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 p 2

[I. Lozinskiy report: "Prospects for the 'Taymyr'"]

[Text] The new nuclear-powered icebreaker the "Taymyr," built at the Wartsila company's shipyard in Helsinki under a Soviet-Finnish joint contract, is undergoing sea trials in the Baltic.

"Its task will be to operate the Northern sea route," A. Nemchinov, senior engineer of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet's All-Union "Mortekhsudoremprom Association," said. "But unlike our existing giant icebreakers, the 'Taymyr' will escort ships in coastal waters of the Arctic and in Siberian river mouths. The effectiveness of escort work of this kind has already been demonstrated by diesel electric icebreakers."

The ship has comfortable, well equipped cabins, a movie theater and sports hall, a swimming pool, sauna, library, and a relaxation room. There is even a greenhouse for growing vegetables and other green plants.

After trials the "Taymyr" will go to Leningrad, where workers at the Baltic plant will fit the icebreaker's nuclear power unit.

The many years' experience of operating ships fitted with nuclear power units has proven their absolute safety. The "Taymyr" will be equipped with a fixed complex of devices for monitoring the radiation situation and portable instruments as well as with individual radiation meters for crew members.

The design also took account of the likelihood of a collision between the nuclear-powered icebreaker and a tanker on a river and assumed that the collision would occur right in the area of the reactor. In that event the reactor's security system would avert a catastrophe.

The "Taymyr" will join the Soviet icebreaker fleet in a year. Meanwhile the "Vaygach," another nuclear-powered ship of this class, is now being built in Finland to the order of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet.

Kharkov Scientists Study Atom's Space Behavior

LD091134 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Kharkov March 9 TASS—In space conditions, the atoms of various chemical elements assume dimensions which are a million times as great as here on earth. Over there, they even could be observed with the naked eye.

This conclusion has been drawn by the scientists of the Kharkov Radioastronomy Institute of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences as a result of experiments which they performed together with their colleagues from Moscow and Leningrad.

"We offer the following explanation for this staggering: Gas clouds in inter-stellar space are highly rarefied," Leonid Litvinenko, "the density of matter in them is by far less than in a maximum vacuum achieved in contemporary physics laboratories. Electrons in such expanding atoms get away from the nucleus to considerable distances."

Leonid Litvinenko said radiation being emitted by gigantic atoms which have been called the highly excited ones was studied by means of a major radio telescope built not far from Kharkov. It registers cosmic electromagnetic waves within the ten to thirty-metre waveband. It has been also established that radiation originates when electrons of the atoms move from one high orbit to another.

"The highly excited atoms can serve as a kind of measuring instrument signalling changes of the density and temperature of huge masses of space matter, the rate and direction of its movement, as well as other processes taking place in the universe," the director of the institute said. "Data on these are of importance, for example, to get to know the nature of star formation and to test the hypothesis about probable conversion of rarefied gas plasma into the dense matter of celestial bodies."

Study of Man Conference Continues

PM061825 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Focus on Man. All-union Scientific Conference"]

[Text] Man's position within the system of sciences, new thinking and social responsibility, man as the highest value and main productive force, man in scientific and artistic creation—this is by no means the full list of themes reflected in the work of the six sections of the All-Union Conference "Problems of the Comprehensive Study of Man," which continued in Moscow 23 February. The aim of this forum is to provide a common platform for sciences concerned with man.

The work of the prominent Soviet mathematician Academician N.N. Moiseyev on ecology is a typical example of the revolutionary surge often produced by the coupling of two sciences which apply different methods. The mathematical models of the moral aspect in ecology which the academician set forth at a session of the section "Man and Mankind in the Present World" attracted keen interest from philosophers and psychologists.

The discussion at the conference was devoted to ways of augmenting the contribution of social scientists to further deepening the public education reform and fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. The solution of many economic and social problems will depend on how long we continue to consider the production of the main productive force—man—of secondary importance, V.I. Shinkaruk, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences said, for instance.

A number of speeches were devoted to ways of enhancing the effectiveness of economic education.

The conference revealed the following trend: Concepts from daily life are penetrating into the sphere of scientific reasoning. Things that formerly interested only literary figures and writers on current affairs are now becoming the subject of scientific research.

The conference participants include not only scientists but also party workers. A.I. Lenskiy, Novokuznetsk CPSU Gorkom secretary, drew interesting conclusions on how to enhance the effectiveness of party work from practical experience and the results of a number of sociological studies. A sociological center has been set up on a voluntary basis at the party gorkom within the framework of the council for the promotion of scientific and technical progress. Novokuznetsk party committees rely on scientific studies in assessing the labor resources situation.

The conference continues.